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No. 1577

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ERRATUM: In JPRS 71590, 1 August 1978,
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"Situation of Party, Economy, Dissidents
Examined," please substitute page 64 for
same.

The thesis about the exhaustion of society is not in the least bit conceived as an alibi or as a justification for it. Four times after the war Polish society moved itself and exploded, and a new explosion, in point of fact, is possible at any moment. Poles, therefore, need no alibi. What is needed, on the other hand, is understanding how difficult the moral and material situation is in which the great majority of society finds itself. An understanding of this at times dramatic situation of millions of families and people must lead one to be cautious in raising hasty accusations against the nation and to take into account the fact that, beyond certain boundaries of exhaustion, there remains only revolt. A proper assessment of these boundaries is the basic prerequisite for activity by the opposition, and it ought also to be the prerequisite for the policy of the Party, if it desires to avoid a new misfortune in the country.

CSO: 2600

18 August 1978

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BULGARIA

DEFENSE MINISTER ON IMPLEMENTING PARTY CONFERENCE DECISIONS

Sofia ARMEYSKI KOMUNIST in Bulgarian No 6 1978 pp 3-12

/Article by Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of national defense: "The Decisions of the National Party Conference - in the Life of the Armed Forces"/

/Text/ The greatest political event in Bulgaria after the 11th Party Congress and the July Plenum of the CC of the BCP is the National Conference of the BCP.

The conference discussed key issues of our socialist development which are now a decisive factor for the intensive development of the economy, for high quality and effectiveness, for higher living standards and for the further building of the mature socialist society in Bulgaria.

These issues involve the improvement of the socialist organization of labor and the planned management of the national economy.

With its thorough and scientifically based analysis of processes and events, with its uncovering of the incipient trends in our socioeconomic development and with its generalized experience contained in it, the report by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, presented at the conference, represents a practical program for a consequential and comprehensive implementation of the strategic course of the party aiming at high effectiveness and high quality of work in our public sector.

The problem of improving the socialist organization of labor and the planned management of the economy is not a new one. We started working on it with the victory in September 1944. It became especially timely after the consolidation socialist production relations in Bulgaria.

The entry into the stage of the building of a developed socialist society places new requirements. The merit of Comrade Zhivkov is that he saw these requirements and, by way of his report to the Politburo of the CC of the BCP in August 1977, placed them for discussion before the entire party and nation.

The National Party Conference expanded further on the ideas embodied in the report of Comrad Zhivkov and, through its decisions, turned them into a mandatory practical program of action.

The servicemen of the Bulgarian People's Army, closely united around the CC of the party, followed with great interest the work of the National Party Conference and fully approved its decisions. They clearly understand that the solution of the most important problems discussed by the high-party forum is a necessary condition and a solid prerequisite for further construction of the developed socialist society in Bulgaria and for securing its defense.

The decisions of the National Party Conference and all other decisions of the party apply fully to the Bulgarian People's Army as well. They generate important and responsible tasks in the forthcoming work.

The main task before the Ministry of National Defense, deriving from the decisions of the National Party Conference, is to constantly improve socialist organization in military work and to organize the fulfillment of the basic tasks necessary for achieving higher fighting capability and combat readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army, in strict conformity with the requirements, scales, changes and criteria of the National Party Conference.

What are the most important directions to be followed in implementing the decisions of the National Party Conference referring to the Bulgarian People's Army?

The first basic direction is to improve uninterruptedly the socialist organization of military work necessary for better fighting capability and combat readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army.

In order to achieve an exemplary socialist organization of military work it is necessary:

First; to achieve saving in live labor as required by the National Party Conference, by organizing work correctly in all military units, in all directions and all levels.

Second; to develop, adopt and use most opportunely and purposefully all scientific achievements, rationalizations, inventions, and leading experience in the all-round army life.

The army has military-scientific units, institutes, bases, technical services and a higher educational institution (VVUZ). One can say that for our size we have the necessary scientific potential. The task ahead of us is to fully utilize the possibilities of this potential so that it may contribute to the improvement of the socialist organization of military work to the greatest possible extent.

The entire scientific work of the army must at present be directed toward the preparation of new and the enrichment of existing methods and technologies of work and management. The scientific cadres must tackle new problems in introducing and adopting new technological means, methods, rationalizations and inventions which on their part will lead to perfecting the socialist organization of military work in that area where in reality the problems of combat readiness are decided in practice. This activity must involve most actively the technical-economic councils as well as the youth councils on technical and scientific creativity.

The scientific organs and sections are required to supply the Ministry of National Defense, the commanding officers, political organs and headquarters with the necessary information on the most recent military-technical achievements in the fraternal socialist countries and on trends and perspectives in the development of military science and technology, methodology and military preparedness in the allied forces as well as in the armies of our probable enemies.

Third; the competent authorities must perform specified tasks in perfecting the normative documents as well as the norms for the training and combat readiness of the armies. The training of commanding officers, headquarters personnel and soldiers must be done comprehensively and in full compliance with the respective schedules, methods and courses. At the same time the norms must be made to suit the increasing possibilities of the personnel and of weapon and combat technology. This will create better labor organization and will bring better results in personnel training and combat readiness.

Fourth; the mastering of socialist organization of military work at this stage must embody all spheres of activity, all agencies and sections and all levels of military and party work in the Bulgarian People's Army. This requires the application of the program-purpose and complex approach and of the balance method in the entire work of the commanding and headquarters' personnel, political organs and party organizations, keeping in mind the requirements of the multiplication approach. It will help for the improvement of socialist organization of military work in the entire army.

The multiplication approach enables us to solve more thoroughly and effectively the problems in raising the fighting capability and combat readiness of the army and encourages the search and application of improved methods and means for a successful solution of the urgent tasks.

Fifth, the educational process is the main factor for achieving high effectiveness in military work. It is in this area that one should apply the high requirements and standards of the National Party Conference. The contents, organization and methodology of the educational process must follow the changes in military technology and armament as well as in the new features and characteristics of the personnel. One must show greater perseverance, initiative and creativeness in finding and adopting new, more effective methods and forms of education and training of personnel and accelerate the struggle against formalism, stereotyping and simplification, in order to observe the basic principle in training, namely -- to teach the soldiers what is necessary for war. It is imperative to improve most decisively the work of commanding and headquarters' personnel, political organs and party organizations in order to raise the ideological, theoretical and methodological training of instructors as well as to involve the entire personnel.

The improvement and innovation of the educational-material basis is a very important problem directly connected with the socialist organization of military work in the educational process. A lot has been done in this field after the 11th Congress and particularly after the July Plenum of the CC of the BCP. One must mention, however, that it does not correspond to the existing possibilities and requirements. Part of the educational-material basis is already obsolete. And in some units the relatively good educational-material basis is not used efficiently. This low utilization is due mainly to poor upkeep. The educational-material basis must be thoroughly overhauled and renovated.

For raising the effectiveness of military work, we must encourage even more the socialist competition in the army. Therefore, commanding officers, political organs and party organizations should do their utmost to transform competition into a permanent method of work and leadership, into a motivating force in the soldiers themselves, as a movement from the bottom upward in the fulfillment of the plans and programs of military and political training. It is necessary to devote special attention to strengthening the competitive aspect in all fields, each subject, norm and assignment. The outstanding soldier, commanding officer and unit must be outstanding every single

day, in each training and study period and in each subject. One must apply widely the Leninist principles of openness, comparability and mass dissemination of outstanding experience. Furthermore, one must boldly criticize shortcomings and exercise strict service and party exigence toward those who do not meet their personal obligations and who do not put real effort into instilling in military and labor personnel any feeling for duty toward the highly patriotic and complex obligations of the military and labor collectives. The educational function of socialist competition should be constantly strengthened as well.

Sixth; all recommendations of the National Party Conference on improvement of socialist organization and labor and planned management of the economy affect fully and directly the military-industrial enterprises as well as the military-construction sections and agencies of the commissariat services.

One must above all take drastic measures for fullest and most effective utilization of the labor means for improvement in scientific-research and planning-construction work as well as for innovation and remodeling of existing production capacity. Economic, administrative and party leaders must take the necessary measures to ensure the fullest utilization of existing capacity. One should adopt as soon as possible two- and three-shift work schedule as well as a 6-7 day workweek so as to use existing technology to the utmost.

The drastic increase in the shift rate and in the tightening of the work schedule require better maintenance of technical equipment and better storage and upkeep facilities.

One must take measures to save on labor by adopting gradually and methodically the multimachine servicing system in those sectors of military production where material possibilities allow it, and to introduce collective forms of labor organization. Experience shows that the basic form of labor organization at present must be the brigade type. Therefore, it is mandatory to undertake specific measures for its widest application in industry as well as in construction. Active political and organizational work must be unfolded for mass introduction of Zlobin's method in military construction.

The improved socialist organization of labor in material production should lead to the reduction of material expenditures by at least 5 percent annually, should raise social production of labor by 4 to 5 percent annually, and should increase the utilization of production funds by 10 percent. Unfinished production should be reduced considerably in order to reach 80-85 percent of the annual volume of capital investments.

Seventh; in the report to the National Party Conference, Comrade Zhivkov specified higher consciousness and discipline as the key problem in the struggle for improvement of socialist organization of labor. In fact, discipline as a whole, with its importance and strictness, must accompany all efforts for better socialist organization of labor. This brings us to the task of strengthening the political work for transforming discipline into an aggregate of conviction, norms and pattern of behavior of the soldiers in complying with orders, statutes, instructions, schedules, courses and all specific assignments. This means that discipline should permeate all spheres of the managerial cycle, all basic stages of organizational activity, i.e., task clarification, environment appraisal, planning, work organization, operational leadership, control, assistance and accounting.

Better military discipline is dictated by the intensive and evermore complicated relations in the military organism as well as by the rhythm of military work, imposed by the saturation of our armed forces with new, modern and perfect technology. Military discipline must be in line with these requirements-- this is now the most urgent task.

The second basic direction in fulfilling the decisions of the National Party Conference is the drastic improvement in the activity of the subjective factor for raising the quality and effectiveness of military work.

The tasks of the Bulgarian People's Army deriving from the National Party Conference are significant and very important. They can be resolved successfully only by constant improvement of the activity of the subjective factor, i.e., by introducing qualitative changes in the commanding-organizational activity of the officers, staff members, political organs, party and Komsomol organizations in all units. On their style and method of work, consciousness, organizational spirit and efficiency will depend the turn of the existing possibilities for improvement of the socialist organization of military work into factual reality.

Which direction should be chosen for improving the activity of the subjective factor?

First; first of all one must improve the planning process. The planning method of the Bulgarian army as a centralized system is a function of democratic centralism and the principle of one-man management. It has been tested and it is the correct one. However, according to the requirements of the National Party Conference, it needs further improvement. It is necessary, first of all, to overcome

the underrating of this activity, a fact currently tolerated by some commanding and staff officers and political organs. Planning matters should be tackled by higher-echelon army personnel. This will enable us to define basic tasks correctly, to consider ensuing objective and subjective difficulties, to judge realistically the actual possibilities of the commanding and staff officers, political organs and military collectives and to guarantee meaningful political and material success.

One must adopt more thoroughly and apply more successfully the program-purpose approach in planning military and political training and secure even better coordination in the planning work at the Ministry of National Defense and all other headquarters. Total balancing of tasks, forces, means and time is an absolutely necessary condition for improving the socialist organization of military work and for fullest utilization of the possibilities of our socialist planning system.

The main principle in planning from the bottom upward must be the most rational use of all objective possibilities in the army with the purpose of achieving best results in military and political training and in raising the fighting capability and combat readiness of the soldiers.

Second; one must improve the organizational work of commanding and staff officers, political organs and party leadership in view of the actual achievement of tasks.

At this time the determining factor in this field is to move from words to deeds, to change basically the practical work in all branches of military life. The main conclusion of the National Party Conference is a 180-degree turn in our commanding-organizational work in its practical and applied aspects, i.e., deeds, deeds, and again deeds.

The style of work and leadership should guarantee the possibility of the authorities and party organs being able to exercise all their rights and obligations and all forms and means for fulfilling planned activities and assigned tasks.

The normative documents of the Bulgarian People's Army (statutes, instructions, orders, etc) have specified the obligations of all military units and personnel. No doubt the requirements of the National Party Conference call for improvements. At present the primary goal of the National Party Conference is for the subjective factor (commanding personnel, political organs, etc) to activate each member of the military collective and each army unit to meet

its functional obligations the best way, on time and in full capacity, or, as we often say, everybody should carry his own burden and with dignity. For the military organism to function properly as a unified and dynamic system, it is necessary that not only the individual components or a particular unit but all units fulfill their functional obligations thoroughly and in a synchronized manner. Nonfulfillment or shifting of obligations not only hinders the functioning of the system as a whole but also willingly or unwillingly contradicts the party's motto promoting high effectiveness and quality, and leads to unpleasant educational consequences as well.

The decisions of the National Party Conference call for active work, initiative, creativeness, perseverance and exceptionally high exigence in the fulfillment of all tasks. There should not be any excuse for those who do not comply with these requirements. The yardstick in the work of each functionary should be whether or not he has secured high organization in military work and successfully fulfilled the assigned tasks. There is not and there cannot be any other standard.

Third; improvement in the activity of the subjective factor is unthinkable without adequate training and education of the cadres. Military science develops gradually and new and more important tasks are assigned to the army. Thus, the training, knowledge and experience that were sufficient yesterday are insufficient today. This compels us to study systematically the new aspects in operational art, tactics, technology and armaments and to apply skillfully new methods and means.

The all-round education of the young officers is at present of decisive importance. What is the main principle to be followed by higher echelon officers and political organs?

First of all, in training young officers they must work constantly, persistently and in an organized manner. Senior commanding officers, staff personnel and political organs must consider as their sacred duty to pass on their knowledge, skills, military and routine experience to the new generation. Thus, the wide experience of the commanding and staff officers, political organs, party and Komsomol organizations of the Soviet Army must be studied, promoted and adopted.

Senior commanders must devote more time and effort in individualized work with young officers. More attention should be devoted to the soldiers' ideological commitment, psychic stability, professional training, initiative and creativeness.

The third basic direction in fulfilling the decisions of the National Party Conference is the further strengthening of ideological work in improving the socialist organization of military work.

The entire contents of ideological work must be geared at present toward studying, clarifying and fulfilling the decisions of the National Party Conference. The work, however, must be closely connected with the goal of improving the army's combat readiness. Studying the findings of the conference will make it easier for senior officers and political workers to make their own decisions in their work connected with the organization of military work and instilling higher consciousness and feeling of responsibility in the personnel. This requires:

First; to clarify with all forms and means of ideological work the meaning of the socialist organization of labor and of the planned management of the economy. To stress that these are key issues of our development which have decisive importance for the success of the strategic course of the party aiming at high effectiveness and high quality. In connecting these issues with the tasks of the army, to stress the importance of better planning of the educational and combat activity of the armed forces from top to bottom; to stress the extreme need to comply with directives, plans, statutes, commands and instructions, which must be law in the routine work of commanders, staff officers and political organs.

Ideological work to be more successful in instilling socialist competition, transforming it into an active form and means for developing the capabilities and creativity of the personnel and developing high moral, political and combat qualities.

Problems of discipline and the forming of commanding and organizational qualities in the military leaders to occupy a central place in the ideological work.

Second; ideological and educational work to be organized and carried out on a complex basis. To improve the impact of the social environment; military work to receive high social acknowledgement; to expand the role of the military collective in solving the tasks of subunits, as well as the struggle against negative actions, particularly against reduced sense of responsibility, sloppiness, waste, and lack of discipline. To aim at greater unity in the goals and tasks of the ideological, political, moral, aesthetic and legal education of personnel as well as at utilizing in a complex manner the means, forms, and methods of the ideological impact. To devote greater attention to individual work with the people and to personal examples.

The fourth basic direction for fulfillment of the decisions of the National Party Conference is to raise drastically the role of the party organizations in the improvement of the socialist organization of military work.

At present it is essential in this respect to take specific action which will further strengthen the role of the army party organizations and make them a mobilizing political factor in the improvement of the socialist organization of military work and in the practical fulfillment of the tasks deriving from the National Party Conference. This requires:

First; questions regarding the socialist organization of military work to become the basic principle in the activity of the local party organizations. Party bureaus and committees to undertake comprehensive political work among the soldiers with the purpose of explaining the gist and importance of these questions for the successful fulfillment of the requirements of the 11th Congress and of the National Party Conference, i.e. to keep the army in constant and high combat readiness. To assist as much as possible in the creation of a true and correct organization of the activity of the subjective factor as well as in its constant improvement, in pace with the growing requirements in training, discipline and combat readiness.

The organizational work of party organizations for the fulfillment of practical tasks to serve as an example to all communists. There is room for improvement in party work on raising the vanguard role of communists. As Comrade Zhivkov points out "they are called to shape each communist as an active individual, with a clearly defined world outlook." The army communist must be an outstanding personal example everywhere and in everything, must be constantly involved in instructive ideological, political and organizational work among the soldiers and must mobilize them for fulfilling the decisions of the National Party Conference. A main principle in evaluating the vanguard role of the communist is his actual contribution to the improvement of the socialist organization of military work, which is the principal premise for high quality and effectiveness and, in the final analysis, for high combat readiness.

The National Party Conference made a key issue of the role of the leaders in the consolidation of one-man management. This compels the army party organizations to increase their efforts in strengthening the authority of commanding officers and to assist them in their training as competent leaders and good organizers of personnel in the pursuit of better quality and effectiveness of military work.

Second; party organizations must expand their work for raising the social activity of the personnel. An important factor in this regard is the military collective. As political nuclei of the collective party organizations, they consolidate relations based on sound principles, and a good psychological atmosphere so that each member of the collective be able to manifest to the greatest degree his capability in solving the set tasks.

Third; it is necessary that the army party organizations strengthen the political approach of their work. Therefore, we must continue to work even more insistently to raise the role and authority of the local party organizations in order to develop their skill to differentiate their functions from those of their superiors. The political approach in all sectors must become the core of party work. One must work more actively and aggressively against the underestimation of political and organizational work among soldiers, against bureaucracy and technocracy in party work. Party committees and bureaus must become more experienced in their political judgment of facts and phenomena, in choosing and using political means, forms and methods of work when fulfilling tasks. Party organizations and communists must continuously maintain and expand their ties with servicemen, rely on them in work and be responsive to their needs and interests.

The application in army life of the decisions of the National Party Conference must become the goal of all commanders, headquarters, political organs and party and Komsomol organizations, of every communist and of the entire personnel. One must now study thoroughly the decisions of the conference and draw practical conclusions for the work of each commanding center, of each party organ, as well as to initiate specific commanding-organizational and political activity for studying, clarifying and adopting those wise party decisions. All efforts should be directed primarily toward improvement of the socialist organization of labor in those sectors where the immediate tasks concerning fighting capacity and combat readiness of the armed forces are resolved. The basic requirement now is for all of us, in an operational and active, I underline active, manner to deal with unresolved problems, raise our exigence and feeling of responsibility and engage in an uncompromising struggle against everything which hinders the fulfillment of the decisions, against complacency and self-satisfaction and against the bureaucratic approach and lack of responsibility.

Our entire work aimed at raising combat readiness, training, and education of the personnel must now be conducted under the slogan "for a thorough study and implementation of the decisions of the National Party Conference in the life of the Bulgarian People's Army."

U.S. DIPLOMAT'S ALLEGED RECRUITMENT ATTEMPT RELATED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Aug 78 p 2 AU

[Article by Jiri Hecko: "A Recruitment That Has Not Succeeded; Strange Practices of an American Diplomat"]

[Text] This story, which began less than 2 years ago, resembles in many respects the adventure crime films as produced in the West by the dozen every year. It does not lack any of the well-tried props such as letters written in invisible ink, cover names, cunningly made and placed "dead letter" drops containing various instruments not usually sold in stores and rounded out sums of money. It does not even lack the romantic and somewhat terrifying background of dark corners in the Prague parks in the late hours of the night.

But our story does differ substantially from the commercially produced western detective stories. What was at stake was not giving the viewers butterflies and tingling nerves but an attempt to force a citizen of ours by means of drugs, bribes and--when there was no other way--even by threats to become a supplier of espionage reports and information. It is appropriate to add that the story does not take place in one of the dubious parts or slums of New York or Chicago but in our city of a hundred spires: Prague, the mother of cities.

Our citizen, Oskar Nadhera, was the one who experienced the notorious practices of the American espionage service. It all started very innocently. In a house in Prague-Petrin, O. Nadhera had an interesting neighbor: the U.S. citizen Ken Knight who occupied himself with scientific research into mushrooms and who was in Czechoslovakia for a lengthy study sojourn to compare the results of his work with his Czechoslovak colleagues. There is nothing strange about this. Not everyone among us is a F. Smotlacha [Czech mycology writer]. But mushrooms are among the most popular hobbies. And thus the neighbors in the house in Petrin became friendly, drank many a glass of cognac together and exchanged gifts.

But mushrooms were not Ken Knight's only passion, and O. Nadhera also noticed it: "Later on I observed that Mister Knight was not interested in mushrooms alone but--when he found out that I was employed in one of the central offices--he gradually started to be inquisitive and even offered me the opportunity to acquire a sufficient amount of money."

But his offer did not result in the desired effect. Mister Knight, however, did not let himself be discouraged and went on with his plans. One day in the fall he and his wife invited O. Nadhera to their apartment. O. Nadhera did not consider this to be unusual in the framework of the emerging neighbourly relations; this time, however, another man and woman were visiting the Knights about whom O. Nadhera later learned that they were an attache of the U.S. Embassy in the CSSR, Ford Hellman, and his wife.

O. Nadhera recalls: "At first it was a normal intimate talk. After we had had a glass or two Mister Knight and Mister Hellman asked me to go with them to my apartment; both women remained in Mister Knight's apartment. I was wondering and did not know what was going on. Mister Hellman took two bottles of whisky with him. He poured my glass from one, and his and Mr Knight's from the other. Time and again I felt as though I were drugged and, therefore, I tried to drink as little as possible. Suddenly F. Hellman pulled out a type-written letter in Czech."

Its exact text reads:

"Dear friends: We hope that we will be able to develop and maintain a mutually beneficial relationship that could be financially very advantageous for you. To be able to safely and effectively plan our contact in the future we need the most detailed information possible about the following: your exact position, present and past assignments, duties and titles, the organization you work for, your immediate superiors, travels abroad, what kind of information you can supply and generally how and under what circumstances you envisage our future cooperation. To be able to evaluate your approach to the information it would be beneficial if you could enclose a demonstration of the kind of information you could supply.

"Please, prepare the report in the following way: put it in a plastic bag, put something in to weight it and wrap it in an old sock or a piece of cloth. Then use the following method for handing the parcel over to us."

The following instructions are reminiscent of the script of a bad detective story. They specify the exact route the supplier of information should take in the gardens of Petrin. Its authors cannot be reproached for not being exact: "Throw the parcel over the wall (3 to 4 meters high) of the Schoenborn Garden, at a distance of approximately 1 1/2 meters from the corner.... Do so on 31 October at 22.45 hours. In case you could not do so on the specific date we will be ready to accept your message on 21 November at the same hour, at the same place...."

This is how the gentlemen of the American espionage service CIA, covered by scientific diplomas and diplomatic passports, tried to turn the romantic corners of the Prague gardens into locations for their espionage intrigues. But their "recruitment" instruction letter continues:

"In addition to the information we have described above write and enclose in the parcel an exact address in Prague where we could write to you. Our letter will be sent from Prague. It will depend on your reaction, but you can expect that you will hear from us within 3 months. We will write an innocent letter which, when you get it, you will dip in lukewarm water. This will bring to light a hidden message that will explain our next contacts to you. Should the hidden message become pale after several minutes you can dip it in the water four or five times till you can understand the whole message. Our innocent letter will be signed 'Antonin'. We are looking forward to hearing from you and hope that this means the beginning of a pleasant, safe and beneficial relationship between us. Your friends."

The postscript about the mutual benefit is very relative. In the course of the following interview O. Nadhera convinced himself about how Misters Hellman and Knight were only interested in the American espionage service's benefit. He himself said about it: "Mister Ford Hellman then began to persuade me to agree to their proposal and without waiting to hear my views on it he forced me to learn the entire content of the letter by heart and to strictly follow the instructions stated in the letter. When I objected that I would not betray my fatherland they categorically rejected my argument by saying that they would make sure that I would be completely discredited professionally as well as politically in the event I did not accept their conditions for cooperation. They threatened that should I say anything to the Czechoslovak Security Service about that evening I would not be believed and would be dismissed from work if not arrested and tried for espionage."

At first O. Nadhera was taken unawares [zaskocen] by this unconcealed pressure and threat and began to learn the text of the "recruitment" letter. F. Hellman continuously tested his knowledge. Our citizen, however, kept his composure. He told Hellman that he learns best while walking and began to walk up and down his apartment with the letter. Then he went to the bathroom where he hid the written instructions and pretended to have torn it into pieces and to have flushed it away. This made Mister F. Hellman very angry. He immediately carried out a thorough personal inspection of O. Nadhera and--despite his protests--began to search his whole apartment. He did not find the letter but let O. Nadhera know in no uncertain manner that such wilful actions would not be tolerated and that he must act according to his instructions.

Late into the night O. Nadhera was pondering over what he had experienced that evening, mainly over the threats he had heard from both Americans. In the morning he was firmly determined about what he would do. He recalled what is well known by the overwhelming majority of the citizens of

the socialist Czechoslovakia, that it is not the mission of the Czechoslovak security organs to harass [sikanovat] our citizens but to protect them from provocations and blackmail by such excellent birds of a feather as Mister Hellman and Mister Knight. He went to the officials of the Ministry of Interior and handed over the letter of instructions, which was hidden in the shaft of the water main. Our television viewers also had the opportunity to convince themselves of the authenticity of these instructions when they watched the television program entitled "Recruiters with U.S. Passports" on Thursday night, last week.

That was practically the end of the first act of the story. The Czechoslovak counter-intelligence then began to occupy itself with the two Americans.

After a while the first letter arrived at O. Nadhera's address. Its content was seemingly quite innocent: "I enjoyed your letter, which informed me at last how you are. I am happy, above all, that you are healthy and that in other respects too everything is O.K. Friend Antonin."

After applying the procedure stated in the "recruitment" instructions a somewhat different text appeared. "Greetings to you. We have a parcel with instructions for you. In order to find it go to Suchbatarova Street. On its northern side, some four steps north-west of the crossing with Studentska Street there is a column with a road-sign. Our parcel will be on the ground, not farther than 1 meter from this column. The parcel will look like a piece of sooty rock and will be 13 x 10 x 5 cm large."

The parcel really was at the stated location, and its contents gave the best answer why all the complicated conspiracy [was necessary]. It contained special paper for invisible ink, an innocent B-Komplex [name of medication] bottle which, however, contain not pills but chemicals for exposing the secret script, a parcel with kcs 5,000, which was to be--according to the enclosed letter--an expression of the CIA's "good will" and a Handsel for even greater generosity in the event of further information, and a letter containing detailed instructions for further activity.

The information the CIA agents, masked by scientific and diplomatic titles, were craving for was betrayed by Antonin's next letter. He was interested in questions of organization and relationship between the transportation and national defense ministries, in the system of command, in the mobilization plans in case of war, civil defense information, secret maps, the numerical strength of troops in peace and war times, the exact deployment and numbers of military formations, in the transportation of military units and armament on the railroad, the system of coordinating collaboration with the Soviet Army and in a number of other data.

The U.S. intelligence headquarters is, however, waiting in vain for all these data. Owing to the awareness and personal courage of our citizen O. Nadhera and the precise work of the Czechoslovak counter-intelligence organs the American spies disguised as scientists and diplomats were

unmasked. One of the numerous U.S. espionage activities aimed against the socialist Czechoslovakia has been shipwrecked.

The Vienna Convention stipulates that the territory of the diplomatic missions of foreign states must not be abused in order to violate the legal norms and laws of the host country.

The sooty "rock" from the corner of Suchbatarova Street, with its strange contents, is a testimony that the American diplomats obviously have different instructions in this respect....

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ DAILY REVIEWS YEARS SINCE PRAGUE SPRING

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Jul 78 pp 3, 4 AU

[Unsigned article: "The Reactionary Role of Revisionism in Light of the CPCZ's Experience; the Lasting and Topical Validity of the Conclusions of the 'Lessons From the Crisis-Ridden Development'"]

[Text] Both the historic experience and the CPCZ's present policy are the object of a sharp ideological battle. Why is it that the class adversaries in the world are constantly devoting such great attention to us? In the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's report to the Central Committee session on 15 March 1978 Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, said: "The bourgeoisie and its helpers do not want to reconcile themselves with the crushing defeat of their aims and intentions. They cannot forgive us that, with the international fraternal assistance of the USSR and other socialist countries, the Marxist-Leninist forces of our party have overcome the crisis-ridden situation, cleansed our party and consolidated it on Leninist principles, led our society out of the crisis, led it toward a dynamic development and prosperity and again consolidated the relations of fraternity and alliance with the USSR and the socialist countries." (CPCZ Central Committee session of 15-16 March 1978, Svoboda Publishing House, Prague 1978, p 43.) The new anti-Czechoslovak campaign is part of the campaign conducted by international reaction against progress, against real socialism and the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism. His reaction is striving to present the events which occurred in Czechoslovakia in 1968 in the form most suitable for it, to present this attempt at a counter-revolution as a kind of renaissance, as a generally valid example of the socialist states' reform, as a "model of socialism with a human face" and also as instructions for use by the communist and workers parties in the capitalist countries.

To this very day the bourgeois interpretation of the events of 1968 in the CSSR has different versions. Everything depends on for whom the version is intended. For the ranks of revolutionary and progressive forces the year 1968 in Czechoslovakia is being presented as the "creative Marxists'" endeavor to set up the most perfect kind of socialism, the only democratic

and humane one, a socialism allegedly very sensitively respecting all the national idiosyncrasies, traditions and interests. At the same time, the very same bourgeois propaganda calls the so-called Czechoslovak events a chance to revive the "pre-Munich Masaryk type of democracy" which, they say, was the brightest example of democracy on the European continent in the period between the two world wars. Thus one openly admits what the rightwingers, the social-reformist and revisionist circles have been vehemently striving to deny for years---namely, that in reality this was an attempt to restore the capitalist system under the cloak of socialist phraseology.

Both in the first and the second version, hostile propaganda falsifies the true significance of January 1968 and of the events that followed it. They coincide in hateful attacks against the international assistance granted to the Czechoslovak people in August 1968, against the consolidation of socialist principles and against the Leninist path in the development of socialism in the CSSR. The sharp edge of the attacks is aimed both against our party's policy and against the international unity of the socialist community, and particularly against the Soviet Union. In this sense the anti-Czechoslovak campaign is part of a broadly based anti-Sovietism which is the core of anticommunism.

It is by no means a matter concerning Czechoslovakia alone. Our history and our present are the object of an ideological and political struggle, above all as one of the examples of the application of Marxism-Leninism in practice. If the hostile attacks today are concentrated against Leninism, narrowing down its validity both in time and in space only to Russia at the beginning of this century, if they construe rightwing-revisionist versions against Leninism, versions allegedly intended to proceed from the "new conditions in industrially developed countries with democratic traditions," then Czechoslovakia's successful socialist development is particularly unpleasant for these fabrications because Czechoslovakia represents a practical example of exactly such an "industrially developed country with democratic traditions," a country whose entire development confirms the general validity of the Leninist theory of socialist revolution and socialist construction. The successes we are achieving in fulfilling the line of the 14th and 15th CPCZ Congresses are also conclusive proof of the significance of Leninist principles of the socialist path.

At the price of gross lies and fabrications, our political and ideological adversaries are striving to prove that not only has nothing substantially changed, improved or been solved in our fatherland during the past 10 years, but that the situation today is worse than ever. And even if we did achieve certain successes, according to them these have had to be paid for by a lack of political freedom and by a cultural decline. Our adversaries are trying to be smart; they are evading the actual state of affairs and are afraid of the truth, the truth about the results achieved in the socialist construction of our fatherland is defeating the lies and fabrications of anticommunist centers. It is proving the antipopular, unsubstantiated and reactionary nature of revisionist speculations operating in the 1960's, speculations which even today are trying to disorient a part of the international communist and workers movement.

A Sharp Class Struggle

Our adversaries' views on the problems of 1968 and on what preceded and followed are guided by a simple formula: all that benefits socialism is conservative for them; whereas all that is to its detriment and serves the counterrevolution and the revival of the old system of exploitation is "progressive." This is what the entire mechanism of the bourgeois propaganda is striving to foist on the public. But the development had nothing in common with this scheme; it was quite different and far more complicated.

During the 3 decades separating us from the victory over the reaction in February 1948 our entire country has basically changed. Under the CPCZ's leadership the workers class and the working people have liberated themselves from the bourgeois oppression and carried out a successful transition from capitalism to socialism. The result of the historical revolutionary changes is an unprecedented upsurge of the republic and its all-round advance in economy, the citizens' living standards, culture, education, science and all spheres of the society's life. The achieved level and dynamics of development are in sharp contrast to the level and long-term conflicts of the capitalist past. The basic result of socialism is the liberation of labor and the raising of creators of values to the position of free citizens and sovereign rulers of the country, managing the social riches.

These are the foundations of our development during the past 30 years, the substance of our revolutionary path.

However, this path represented a sharp class struggle for the political and ideological unification of the workers class and the working people against forces that were class-hostile and exploitative, forces that had been deprived of their political--and gradually also economic--power but still had not become resigned. With the support of international reaction and the assistance of their former political and ideological servants they tried to hamper the socialist development in various ways. By spreading various rumors, legends and moods they intended to make the public nervous and to evoke distrust in the Communist Party's policy. They even used heckling attacks against socialism, sabotage and individual terror; in the 1950's alone about 400 people devoted to socialism fell victim to it in our country.

The oath of socialism, the construction and development of the socialist society have been, and remain, linked with demanding ideological and theoretical problems. The Czechoslovak workers class and the Communist Party achieved their greatest successes whenever they consistently and creatively applied Marxist-Leninist ideas to the specific conditions of our country and its people. Certain shortcomings and mistakes, but also the serious threat to the very foundations of the power of the workers

class at the end of the 1960's, had their source in a deviation from and violation of the Marxist-Leninist principles. These experiences have been generalized in the "lessons from the crisis-ridden development in the party and society after the 13th CPCZ Congress," the truthfulness of which is being more and more strikingly confirmed with the passing years.

After the foundations of socialism had been laid, between the 1950's and 1960's, our society found itself faced by a number of extremely complicated questions; they are connected with the evaluation of the achieved level of development, the analysis of the state of class forces and the fact that the real possibilities and prospects of the society's development had not been clarified. New demands also stemmed from certain changes that had occurred on an international scale.

The fact that no Marxist-Leninist answer had been supplied to a number of new problems opened the field for hostile forces, as the "lessons" show, the rightwing and revisionist forces took advantage of this situation. They formed themselves into a gradually strengthening stream, which had been taking shape for years out of the representatives of the defeated bourgeoisie and those petty bourgeois elements that had not accepted socialism. "These elements also penetrated the party, particularly its ideological sector, and the mass communications media. They were joined by people who had lost their heads when faced by difficulties, and also their confidence in the revolutionary prospects--by various 'theoreticians' who had gone over from extreme dogmatism to revisionism." (Collected Selected Documents of the CP7 Bodies, Svoboda Publishing House, Prague 1977, pp 117-118.)

The revisionists came out with their own concept of further social development which, under the guise of a messianic project of radical economic reform and a "general reconstruction of the political system," in reality supported the plan to revive the elements of capitalism. In the theoretical substantiation of the term scientific-technical revolution, following the example set by the bourgeois theories, the decisive qualitative differences between the capitalist and socialist socioeconomic formations was denied.

A number of people succumbed to the seeming originality and untraditional nature of these theories, which were being spread in philosophy, political economy, sociology and other scientific branches, particularly because in our country there was no energetic and profoundly substantiated Marxist-Leninist criticism of the fashionable bourgeois and revisionist trends that were paying tribute to the times.

It is known that a hostile ideology that is not fought against, consistently and in time, is particularly dangerous. And this is what happened in our country in the 1960's with rightwing revisionism. Under the guise of a would-be progressive trend, rightwing revisionism gradually penetrated significant positions in the socioscientific pedagogical and cultural-artistic institutions and--and this is particularly important--it also finally began to rule the communications media. Even prior to 1968 it had also had a dangerous influence on the party's ideological bodies and

institutions. Protagonists like Sik, Mlynar and their kind headed a number of scientific-research teams whose task it was to provide a picture of our economy, our political system, class relations and other problems and to present to the party's leadership plans for far-reaching adjustments and changes. The history of the party and of the international communist and workers movement was being expounded by people like Milan Huebl. Philosophical views about the world and about the method of getting to know and to change it were being expounded by such "Marxists" as Kosik, Strinka or Kusy. And what is more, A. Snejdarek, who belonged to the intimate circle of the rightwing center and even at that time entertained lively contacts with imperialist agencies, acted as one of the outstanding "experts" on the battle against anticommunism.

It cannot be claimed that opportunism and revisionism in Czechoslovakia met with no critical response in the 1960's. In the party and the society justified criticism of the inconsistencies and mistakes increased criticism leveled from Marxist-Leninist positions and demanding the consistent observance of Leninist socialist principles. As the "lessons" state, A. Novotny nevertheless summarily dismissed the critical voices and did not differentiate between well-meant criticism and rightwing attacks. The rightwingers took advantage of this. This also disorientated many people and made it difficult for them to discern the antisocialist demagogy and counterrevolutionary danger in time.

The process of shaping the rightwing anti-Soviet "fifth column" and its ideological political platform was a long-term one. The counterrevolution did not fall from heaven, like lightning on a clear day. In his preface to the book "The Communist Power System," published in 1976 in Hamburg, Ota Sik wrote that, allegedly, both he himself and a "whole number of formerly communist intellectuals in the CSSR" had "begun the battle for basic changes of the system approximately in 1958-1959." Their "attempt," he says, was "practically and theoretically prepared for a period of 10 years." It is immaterial whether it was exactly as Sik describes it; what cannot be excluded is that by claiming this now he is "improving his cadre profile" with his bread-givers. However, it is not only such and similar admissions by Goldstuecker, Pachman, Loebl and others, but primarily the texts published at that time and the statements made by many revisionists--those "formerly communist intellectuals"--that enable us to confirm that the rightwing's ideopolitical platform was being shaped, and was winning followers long before 1968.

The dismissal of the Class Approach

This platform was not an exclusively Czechoslovak affair. It bore all the basic signs of revisionism, characterized by V. I. Lenin as an international phenomenon. The specific features that revisionism had in Czechoslovakia followed, first, from the fact that it had developed under the conditions of a socialist society; second, these features had been influenced by the integration of elements of the country's former bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology.

The basic theoretical-methodical feature of revisionism is the dismissal of the specifically historic class approach to social phenomena. This was fully confirmed in our country. The revisionists appraised the development of our socialist society up to that time without taking into account the real process of class social changes--but they appraised it only from the viewpoint of shortcomings and mistakes, which they absolutized and presented as being the substance of development. Their nihilist criticism--which, after all, was an expression of the petty bourgeois people's rage on being affected by the process of socialization--led them to deny the socialist principles of society's life. This criticism was an instrument in the destruction of socialism and the ideological substantiation of its disintegration. That is why it necessarily opened the field for the formation of antisocialist forces, forces that were not interested in solving the true problems of socialist development.

The very idea of socialism was deprived of its class nature. In the traditional Bernstein spirit, socialism was described as merely an abstract ethical ideal. This opened up an unrestricted range of subjectivist speculations for interpreting it, a palette of idealist visions and petty bourgeois dreams. Socialism was meant to leave science and return to the spheres of Utopia--to leave revolutionary reality for reformist illusions. Under the slogan of a revival of socialism, ideas were in fact being asserted that were contradictory to its substance and aimed at denying it.

Simultaneously, the achieved level of development of society was falsely and elatedly appraised. The revisionists idealized the moral-political unity of society and concealed the class nature of our society. They did this even during the period when obviously antisocial organizations like K-231, KAN, Ecumenical Council Renaissance Work, the revising of Rightwing Social Democracy and others entered the political scene. The reaction's arguments resounded with a clearly distinguishable contradiction: On the one hand they said that socialism had not solved any human problem, while on the other they maintained that all citizens without exception were in favor of socialism and that it was merely a matter of "reviving" it.

Revisionism is always combined with a non-scientific understanding of the relationship between the general and the particular. The concept of the so-called specific Czechoslovak model of socialism meant the rejection of generally valid laws governing the building of socialism and the denial of the experience gained by other socialist states, and above all by the Soviet Union. This course was declared to respect the specific features of our development and the achieved level of maturity in social relations. To this very day the bourgeois propaganda calls the so-called Czechoslovak model of 1968 an expression of specific national conditions and needs, but simultaneously it claims that this is the universal model for any socialist movement. What was being characterized as Czechoslovak specifics was in reality an expression of the general contemporary features of revisionism.

The denial of general laws governing social development and socialist construction opened the road for subjectivism and the enforcement of arbitrary speculations. Although the rightwingers denied the significance of ideology, in reality they were battling against the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism. They presented the destruction of all values and absolute scepticism toward the historic revolutionary and construction feat of the working people as the expression of free and creative thinking. Any idea, any argument--even the most obscure one--was welcome. Everything was permitted, except the defense of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The means used for the revisionist destruction of the principles of real socialism was boundless indeterminate pluralism, which was promoted as a binding system for all sectors of social life. In the economy, uniform management was to be replaced by the arbitrary mechanism of market economy, based on the socio-reformist model called "combined economy"--a combination of private, state and cooperative economy. "Free play of forces," including antisocialist ones, was to be introduced into the policy. Socialist democracy was to return, reverting to what was substantially principles of bourgeois parliamentarism. In ideology one verbally proclaimed the freedom of all and any opinions and denied the qualitative differences between bourgeois and proletarian ideology. And therefore everybody could interpret things as he pleased under the cloak of Marxism. But behind this formal ideological tolerance there was concealed the scandalizing and persecution of all those who dared defend the ideas of scientific communism.

Threat to the Party's Leading Role

Revisionism underrates the working people's creative abilities; it regards them with contempt. It denies the historical role of the workers class and the idea of the hegemony of this class is insufferable to it. That is why the reverse side of this coin consists of elitism and a verbal exaggeration of the social mission of the intelligentsia. This was the demagogy of a relatively narrow group of people, standing on the fringes of science and the arts, who did not represent creative intelligentsia, who were incapable of representing it. They had succumbed to illusions of their own messianic role. In reality they were merely the instruments in the battle against the political power of the workers class. They substantiated the demand for a scientification of the management of society by claiming that the working people are allegedly incapable of handling political matters. They interpreted the slogan about writers as the nation's conscience as though this meant that the working man had no conscience. In the main report at the Writers Congress in June 1967 M. Kundera made the further fate and existence of the Czech nation directly dependent on the recognition of the leading role of the "intellectual elite." And such speculations were promoted by one and the same mouth together with bombastic phrases about absolute democracy, which is absolutely unrestricted. The purpose was identical in both cases: to exclude the leading role of the workers class and the Communist Party and to undermine the legitimacy of the real people's power.

The revisionists refuted the role of the Communist Party as a new type of historic subject. They denied that the Communist Party acquires knowledge of social reality, organizes the working people's fight to achieve socialist changes in the life of society and that it integrates, inspires and leads the working people in the building of socialism and communism. The party's leading role in the socialist society was misinterpreted and attacked by the revisionists as a monopoly of power. For the revisionists, the Communist Party was one of the political organizations competing against other political parties for a share of power.

The revisionists planned to change the Communist Party into an organization which, by its internal structure, would have nothing in common with the Leninist principles of party structure. They refuted democratic centralism as the organizational principle of the party's structure and activity and preached the autonomy of individual organizations which would either accept or reject the party's policy as a whole, as they, themselves, decided. It is unnecessary to provide any special proof that such a party is incapable of being the working people's revolutionary vanguard. These revisionist concepts reject the Communist Party's active role as the organizer of socialist construction. Intra-party questions became the object of assessment also outside the party, even in organizations hostile to socialism.

The revision of the teaching about the party served to substantiate the process of the gradual disintegration of the power structure and political system of socialism. In the process of the enhancement of the counter-revolutionary situation the leadership was losing control of the social processes under way, and even gave up the right to influence a mass communications media serving exclusively the rightwing splitting policy. The national front began to disintegrate and trends toward changing it into a coalition of the bourgeois-parliamentary kind gradually began to appear.

A. J. Liehm, the famous dogmatician and sectarian of the 1950's and one of the rightwing proponents in the 1960's, wrote in the LITERARNI LISTY in May 1968: "The national front is not the goal, but the means for those forces to come to power that will be determining the path of the country's development in the coming period. History has given the Communist Party the opportunity to revive. If the party does not make fullest possible use of this opportunity, the Czechs and the Slovaks will seize power by force." Mr Liehm's idea of a "revived" party is illustrated by his anti-communist activity in emigration. He poses as an RFE author, writes for the SPRINGER press concern and other bourgeois propaganda instruments.

In connection with the rejection of the Marxist-Leninist party doctrine there was also the attempt at a revision of the purpose and nature of all basic events in the party history.

They falsified the historic significance of the very emergence of the CPCZ; they concealed in every way the treacherous role of the Second International and of social-democratism in our workers movement; they revived various

legends and illusions about the Czechoslovak bourgeois democracy and distorted the class nature of the pre-Munich republic and its representatives. The revisionists' attacks were none too fastidiously aimed at the Fifth CPCZ Congress, with which the party, headed by Klement Gottwald, began its Bolshevization in 1929--a process that enabled it to acquire the necessary influence among the masses, and to become the recognized leading force of our peoples and simultaneously an influential segment of the Communist International. The revisionists' anger was particularly concentrated on playing down the people's victory in February 1948, which they described as a non-vital interruption of our country's historical development. In this they were not averse to taking over and spreading the arguments of the defeated reaction and the Western anticommunist centers, for which February, this supreme event of our modern history, represented its blackest chapter. They wrote about building the foundations of socialism in the same vein. What was for our people the beginning of their real liberation, a glorious epoch of the historic start to the unprecedented upsurge of our fatherland, was for the former exploiters and potentates merely "the dark times," the "time of absurdities and deformations." After seizing important positions in the party's scientific institutions, in the former institute of CPCZ history and the higher party college, the revisionists abused the criticism of real mistakes and misfeasances that the party had not managed to avoid for denigrating the entire path toward socialism. Under the guise of the defense of "national specifics" and "democratic features" of this path they defended the power and arbitrariness of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie, justified, or at least camouflaged, the oppressor role of its state and concealed the true face of its ideologies, while censuring and belittling the revolutionary changes carried out by the workers class and, in firm union with it, also by all the people under the CPCZ's leadership.

Ideological Diffusiveness and Vagueness

The revisionists sponged off the criticism of dogmatism and presented their own concepts as creative Marxism. In reality they were not concerned about creatively developing a scientific theory, but with adopting the set-up of the bourgeois ideology of the time, with refuting Leninism and rejecting the experience of the CPCZ, the CPSU and the international communist movement. But in reality their entire method was pure doctrinarianism.

The bearers of revisionism considered themselves to be the absolute judges not only of the theoretical level of all our domestic and foreign production but of the theoreticians' ethical qualities. "Courageous and honest, faithful to their mind and conscience" were--according to the rightwing interpretation of ethic norms--only those who cast doubt on scientific communism and copied from bourgeois authors. In contrast to this everybody who defended the Marxist-Leninist position was a "careerist and profit-seeker," a man who was "conformist and spineless," a "dogmatician" and "conservative." The epigones of Garaudy, Aron, Marcuse, Heidegger and other

fashionable bourgeois authors elevated themselves to the ideal and criterion of wisdom and virtue. Today many of them are serving bourgeois institutions as instruments not only against communism but against the fundamental norms of democracy and progress, against the constitutional principles and the fundamental interests of their fatherland. Eugen Loeb, for instance, presented himself in 1968 as a revivalist of the party and Marxism and as a patriot defending the interests of the Slovak people. It is paradoxical, but today he is an activist of the Zionist organizations in the United States and simultaneously one of the leading officials of the politically-clerical "Slovak World Congress," an emigrant institution openly avowing its allegiance to the traditions and to the program of the fascist Hlinka party and Tiso's pro-Hitlerite state, whose ideology and practice also had a marked anti-Semitism.

The revisionists falsified the critical nature of Marxism-Leninism and its methods. They presented destructive criticism conducted from antisocialist positions as the only genuine criticism. The sincere effort to eliminate mistakes and shortcomings and to positively develop socialism, on the other hand was belittled as a futile attempt to improve a system that must allegedly be changed cardinally and from its very foundations. They were not concerned with removing and overcoming mistakes and shortcomings but with undermining socialism as a social system. This was markedly reflected in the concept of the so-called "institutional revolution" which demanded the elimination of socialist social organs and organizations as institutions which were allegedly "bureaucratic and alienated from the people."

Eclecticism was characteristic of the revisionist concepts. In the theoretical sphere it found its expression in combining isolated Marxist theses with concepts of bourgeois ideology. In 1968, for instance, R. Kalivoda wrote in his book "Modern Intellectual Reality and Marxism" that "non-Marxist intellectual streams of the 20th century... are close to Marxism in nature and either converge on Marxism or lead directly to it. At the same time they enrich it. In their convergence on Marxism they are changing into the elements of its own development. This applies to structuralism, psychoanalysis as well as to avant-garde libertinism."

The revisionists denied the qualitative difference between scientific and non-scientific ideology. They combined various elements of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology from the period of the pre-Munich republic. The rightwing tried to gain sympathies in various social environments--among the advocates of socialism, among those who had lost the economic and political privileges of the ruling bourgeois class, among the believers and among atheists and among various national, social, age and other groups of the society.

It is characteristic of the revisionist platform that it is not precisely defined, ambiguous and without contours. This primarily ensues from the fact that revisionism hides its class essence behind socialist phrases. It

uses the Marxist terminology but replaces its Marxist content with content derived from bourgeois ideology. This was even more stressed in our conditions since revisionism was acting in a socialist country and hiding behind the mask of reform of socialism.

Revisionism proceeds from existing problems of the development of society but mystifies them and interprets and evaluates them in a false way. It foists upon the socialist society solutions that are hostile to the interests of the workers class and the working people. It separates the goal from the means of the social political activity. This results in making one or the other into a fetish. From this ensue two revisionist variants: the understanding of the communist goal as a mere Utopia, as the eternal effort in the sense of the abstract humanism of the absolutization of certain means of political struggle as the only possible ones. The institutions and rules of the formal bourgeois democratism are then regarded as such means. Democracy, as the sum of certain formalistic political rules--disregarding its class contents--is presented as the means of solving all social problems. This corresponds to Bernstein's thesis that "democracy is basically the abolition of the class rule." Both versions are mutually interdependent and complement each other. The abstract humanism and formal democracy are an instrument of the battle against the real communist humanism and thus against the socialist democracy, which cannot be separated from it.

Revisionism evades the complex perception of social problems and focuses its attention on partial questions. In our conditions, too, the revisionists had written and said a great deal about what kind of socialism they did not want yet their own "model" of socialism remained rather a vague vision. This also had its tactical reasons: "Democratic socialism" remained a blank check on which everyone could write the demands corresponding to his own ideas. In this was the essence of social demagogy. The rightwing promised various groups of the population the fulfillment of various demands--including contradictory ones--irrespective of the existing possibilities.

The theoretical ambivalence of revisionism is also founded in the fact that it accepts from the bourgeois sources various heterogenous and mutually and logically contradictory trends. In the 1960's, for instance, revisionism proceeding from the technocratic positions made a fetish of the significance of science and technology while the anthropological revisionism saw in science and technology the cause of man's alienation. There were similar formal contradictions in political questions, too. There were those who criticized the nature of the socialist democracy and presented politics as the exclusive domain of the "elite"; others considered "the state bureaucratic system" and "the monopoly of the party apparatus" to be the cause of all evil. In spite of these external and formal differences the revisionists all agreed in what they were trying to deny: the fundamental power pillars of socialism, the workers class political power in union with the cooperative farmers and the intelligentsia, the Communist Party's leading role and the alliance with the fraternal countries of the socialist community, above all, the Soviet Union.

Revival of Masarykism

The Czechoslovak revisionism was permeated and gradually merged with Masarykism as the official ideology of the former so-called castle wing of the Czech bourgeoisie. Why did they, after decades, revive this heterogeneous eclectic mixture, born of the womb of Austria-Hungary and the pre-Munich bourgeois republic? From the point of view of the antisocialist forces' plans it had a number of advantages. At one time Masarykism successfully expressed the bourgeois interests in form of petty bourgeois ideas that could be merged with social reformism and the petty bourgeois nationalistic liberalism. It was presented as the ideology of the ordinary Czech man which allegedly truthfully expresses his democratic inclination, his matter-of-factness, his diligence and his sense of everyday working efforts toward improving his social conditions. The ideas of the Czech petty bourgeoisie were thus being opposed to the genuine struggle of the working people for a socialist transformation of the society.

The Masarykist concepts idealized the bourgeois formal democraticism. Masaryk's non-class understanding of democracy was, in fact, an apologia of bourgeois democracy and a rejection of socialist democracy. Masaryk concealed the existence of bourgeois violence and proclaimed that ethical self-improvement is the decisive path of social progress. He explained the socialist revolution merely as destruction and denied that it could be the path to a new, better society. At the same time, however, according to Masaryk, the bourgeoisie is entitled--if it considers it necessary "in the interest of the people"--to bring about its goals by applying violent means (and Masaryk, as is known, more than once defended bourgeois democracy by making use of force), while the proletariat should wait for the general ethical elevation of society.

The Masarykist ideas present a mixture of nationalistic and cosmopolitan ideas. They defend the interests of the Czech bourgeoisie and at the same time derive the values of the Czechoslovak society from the ideas of the "great democracies"--the French, English and American. The legend about Masaryk's role as liberator was combined with the legionnaires' legend and both were sealed with anti-Sovietism. According to this version the independent Czechoslovak state was born in the battles against the "Bolsheviks," by grace of the Western powers, above all the United States of America. The nationalistic concepts concerning the development of the Czech nation and culture--according to Masaryk, our belonging to the West is a permanent source of progress--were always sharply directed against the ideas of the October Revolution and against the Soviet Union.

Masarykism provided for the antisocialist sources in 1968 an important chance: Masaryk's books and his political activity are strongly charged with anti-Sovietism. Had they succeeded in putting Masaryk back on the pedestal of authority, it would only be a question of the tactical plan how much of his anticommunism would gradually be introduced in the game.

The link between revisionism and Masarykism was a characteristic feature in shaping Czechoslovak rightwing ideology. It is no accident that the Milan Machovec book, "T. G. Masaryk," which presented this material in an existentialist style, was published at the beginning of 1968 and received great political publicity.

In the Role of "Patriots" and "Friends of the People"

Why then did many people not see through the reactionary ideas and plans of the rightwingers? From the beginning of 1968 the course of events was very rapid. Justified criticism of shortcomings was intertwined with demagogy and elements aiming at the destruction of socialism. In more than one case even honest people committed to socialism lent themselves unwittingly to become the tool of such criticism as did not, in fact, serve to remove shortcomings but to systematically "dispose of" cadres committed to socialism. The destruction of socialism was carried out on the one hand under attractive slogans and on the other in an atmosphere of psychological and moral pressure, and the disparagement and persecution of all who did not want to accept without resistance the theses and policy of the revisionists.

The rightwingers were asserting "patriotism" based on the vocal stress of the national slogans, symbols and traditions and on the illusions that the course of nationalistic chauvinism leads to "cosmopolitanism," international recognition and admiration. It is known that where nationalistic demagogy is unleashed there judgment frequently ends and it is very difficult to implement rational approaches.

The basic role in the interpretation of the so-called Czechoslovak national model of socialism was played by anti-Sovietism. Everything that was negative and unpopular was referred to as the "Soviet model"; all mistakes and shortcomings were ascribed to it--no matter whether real and exaggerated or completely fabricated. The scandalization of the Soviet Union was carried out with the help of old bourgeois fictions already hackneyed and worn-out in the West, which the "progressivists" of the Ivan Svitak type introduced in 1968 into our communications media, such as the myth of the alleged assassination of Jan Masaryk by obscure "Soviet agents" in the background.

The enemies were and are well aware that the Soviet Union's authority is closely connected with the authority of Marxism-Leninism, of the Communist Party and of socialism in general. Anti-Sovietism was to help to orientate Czechoslovakia from the alliance and cooperation with the socialist countries toward the West, toward capitalist partners. This corresponded to the then imperialist, above all American, doctrine of "building bridges." With the help of economic and cultural influences, the socialist states were to be gradually "wrested" from the unity of the socialist community, and through power pressure "returned" to the bosom of the capitalist West. The

nationalistic chauvinistic anti-Soviet propaganda of the Czechoslovak right also acted in accordance with these plans. They misused the patriotic feelings of our citizens and tried to transform them into an instrument serving against the very national interest of the Czechoslovak people.

How "honest" the intentions of the protagonists of the "Czechoslovak model" were with regard to patriotism is best illustrated by their deeds following their political defeat. Many have entered the services of imperialist agencies and are making a living out of incendiary campaigns and political intrigues against their fatherland. This February Pelikan and Mlynar addressed a seminar of the Catholic organization Opus Bonum in Franken in the FRG, and, as opposed to the conclusions of the Potsdam Conference, declared the evacuation [odsun] of Germans from Czechoslovakia to be an act of revenge that was at variance with international law. Such things are being said today by "patriot" Mlynar who can claim neither the lack of legal training nor that he succumbed to "emotions of the moment."

The rightwing platform was a downright antithesis of the progressive and revolutionary traditions of our large and matured workers class, of the traditions of the popular and democratic struggle of the Czechoslovak people against fascism, for national development and self-determination, for traditions of the revolutionary proletarian internationalism, for an alliance and brotherhood with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. It was at sharp variance with the fundamental needs and interests of our country's working people, with the demands for the growth of their material and cultural standards, democratic participation in the management of social affairs, with the strengthening of the unity of the CSSR and the great family of the states of the socialist community.

The right liked very much to talk about "progress" and emphasized the "spirit of the times." The common denominator of such popular slogans were phrases about democracy. In reality all the activity of the right was aimed against the interests of the people, against genuine democracy. Those several months of the monopoly of the rightwing elements in information media and important political institutions were an example of cynical manipulation of the thinking and feelings of the society. Shameless cabinet intrigues were spun behind the demagogic phrases about the "wisdom of 14 million." Slandorous campaigns were organized against conscious communists and honest people. The letter of the 99 Praga enterprise workers to the Soviet Union, which expressed concern about the fate of socialism in our country, was declared to be a "knife in the back of the nation." On the other hand a noisy campaign was raised for several "men of January," and the eulogies for them were endless.

No wonder that the "democratization" of this kind selected as its flag-bearers characters such as Smrkovsky, Kriegel or Dubcek. The main prerequisite was "flexibility" of stance, the ability to change standpoints without scruples in a manner which the right's tactical course demanded.

For example, in his book "Spring That Never Ends," published in the FRG in 1976, Pelikan again swears: "I want to continue fighting for the ideas of democratic socialism. How he understands this is illustrated by his deeds. He is trying to organize anti-Czechoslovak emigres around the reactionary LISTY, which he publishes every 2 months in Rome. He strives to coordinate a course with renegades living in our republic willing to lend themselves to subversive activity against its constitutional and social system. He travels throughout the capitalist countries making incendiary attacks on the Soviet Union and our fatherland. His essays and books are written in the same spirit, and his repeated visits to the Munich Center of Free Europe and his tactical consultations there serve the same purpose. It is not difficult to guess who directs and finances his editorial office, his contacts with other emigres and his propaganda trips abroad--his activity corresponds to the plans of the American CIA intelligence-espionage service and is connected with its agencies.

Attack on Socialism's Economic Foundation

The disintegration of socialist principles and of reality in our country proceeded in stages. This, too, was one of the reasons why many people did not see through the right's reactionary plans in time. From the criticism of genuine shortcomings and from an honest search for new ways of socialist development, the right was directing the development toward the restoration of elements of capitalism. As an example there can serve the search for effective economic reforms which originated from the urgent needs of the national economy and from the initiative of the party leadership, but which gradually became the domain of revisionism and an instrument for the destruction of our economy's socialist principles.

The rightwing forces' main attention gradually concentrated on two spheres, on the so-called new economic model and on the search for a "new political structure." All national-economic questions were explained by saying that it was necessary to radically change the system of management, and--in particular--to exclude state intervention. Behind the rejection of state ownership of the means of production and the "bureaucratic-centralistic" management of the economy there was, in fact, hidden the attempt to liquidate the all-social ownership of the means of production, to change it to a group [ownership of the means of production], deprive it of its socialist nature, transform it into a base of a renewed competition battle between enterprises, and gradually restore private enterprise. Thus socialism was to lose its economic base, socialist production relations had to be liquidated and the socialist system of reward according to work done was to be gradually eliminated. Bourgeois individualism, the principle of enrichment of one at the expense of another and the exploitation of man by man, was again to become--under the slogan of "general entrepreneurship"--the foundation of social relations.

The "new political structure" was to be a way to liquidate the power of the workers class and the working people. All errors and shortcomings of the previous years were to be ascribed to "etatism"--an alleged excessive concentration of control and decision-making in the hands of the socialist state. The hitherto political system was depicted as an absolute hierarchy of power which allowed only a one-way management--from the top down--and which excluded the assertion of various interests of groups and individuals. This schematized idea was contrasted with the so-called pluralism of political power. What was involved was not the assertion of genuine plurality of the interests of various social, professional, nationalities, territorial, age and other groups of our population, but the restoration of petit bourgeois and later bourgeois political parties which would liquidate the leading role of the workers class and restore the bourgeois political system. The sharp edge of the theories on the new political structure was pointed at the Communist Party's leading role. Parallel with this views were being disseminated within the party depicting its ideological unity and leading role in society as reprehensible "vestiges of Stalinism."

There was nothing much new in the essence of these ideas. History has known them several times before in the form of Bernsteinism, Kautskyism, in the form of Trotskyism as well as in many other versions, including the Djilas revisionism after World War II. However, the danger of this platform rested at the end of the 1960's in the fact that it invented a new version of pseudonational change of clothes [prevlek], that it exploited some shortcomings that accompanied the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia, and that this version served here as an ideological base for a counter-revolutionary attempt.

Fate of Socialism Was at Stake

The events of 1968 reaffirmed that revisionism was a theoretical platform serving not to improve and perfect socialism, but to impair it, to permit a counterrevolutionary practice. Therefore, revisionism plays an irreplaceable role in the current world reaction's anticommunist plans against the socialist countries. At a certain stage the counterrevolutionary attempt on the power of the workers class and the working people cannot do without revisionism. Of course, the revisionist ideas themselves do not openly express either the real plans or the final objectives of anti-socialist elements. In our country it was no different. Many bourgeois authors have sooner or later admitted it. For example, the post-February [1948] emigrant Pavel Tigrid writes in his 1970 book "Square in the Circle": "To carry the process of Czechoslovak liberalization to the end with all the risks and consequences stemming from it, would mean to lay a foundation for a system that would be in direct conflict with the principles and especially with the practical application of Marxism-Leninism." The bourgeois circles viewed the events in Czechoslovakia as a counter-revolutionary chance. M. Walden, commentator of Radio Free Berlin, said on 16 July 1969: "More than just a Prague reform is at stake. What is involved here is the future liberation of the East Bloc in general." The

Hamburg weekly DER SPIEGEL wrote on 13 May 1968: "Should the Prague experiment of 'democratic socialism' take place, this could change not only communism and Europe, but could show the world the way out. The hopes and illusions of world reaction were boundless.

Precisely because the imperialist forces realized very well the class-political purpose of this process, they provided all possible support to the then proponents of "socialism with a human face." Hundreds of NATO intelligence officers, agents of world banks and monopolies came to Czechoslovakia, not to mention the flood of bourgeois journalists. The current U.S. President's national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski lectures in June 1968 at the Prague Institute for International Policy and Economics for a circle of selected persons on what the future tactics of the right should be. West European political clericals [klerikalove], representatives of the parties of the Socialist International as well as of the so-called Trotskyite International were coming to Czechoslovakia in rapid succession. Bourgeois press, radio and television carried interviews with ideologues and politicians of the Czechoslovak right. And so the voices of these "communists" found their way, under inch-thick headlines, to the front pages of bourgeois newspapers and to those countries in which any suspicion of sympathy toward communism is a reason for sacking from the state or public service, or for an even worse persecution. With an unconcealed satisfaction, international reaction welcomed the services offered to it by the Czechoslovak "revival." Pavel Tigrid, an old agent of American intelligence, expressed it colorfully in the book "Political Emigration in the Atomic Age": "It was like in a dream! We read Communist newspapers and did not want to believe our eyes! We listened to the Communist-controlled radio and thought: this cannot be true! We received phone calls from communists, the contacts and the friendship with whom we had kept carefully secret until now, and when the receiver, still resounding with their joy and optimism, was back on the hook we asked ourselves: Are we awake, or are we dreaming?"

The fate of socialism in Czechoslovakia found itself in mortal danger. But it was not a matter concerning our country alone. The international reaction devoted such attention to us because it had far deeper plans for us. With the example of our country, socialism and the communist movement was to have been discredited. We were to have served as the instrument for breaking up the unity of the socialist community and the international communist and workers movement. Through us the authority of Marxism-Leninism as the only feasible road of solving the conflicts and problems of our contemporary world was to have been diminished.

The international assistance granted to the Czechoslovak people in August 1968 stopped the further progress of the counterrevolution. It prevented the bloody, openly terrorist phase of the counterrevolution and established conditions for the political and ideological differentiation in the party and society, for the unification and activation of Marxist-Leninist forces, for the cleansing of our party of all opportunists, revisionists and passive members and for a revival of the Leninist principles in our life.

At the same time the international assistance was of enormous international significance--for the cause of democracy, socialism and peace. It was a significant contribution toward strengthening the socialist community and thus also easing international tension and developing peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. The imperialist forces could again convince themselves that they would not break through the positions of the socialist community either by force or by guile. This considerably contributed toward making them agree, after many years of reluctance and procrastination, to negotiations on the questions of cooperation and security in Europe. They did not renounce their anticommunist plans; but they were forced to make a further concession to the growing force of the world progressive peace movement. It was confirmed that socialism and peace support each other and are interdependent.

Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR's Supreme Soviet Presidium, said at the festive rally held on 31 March 1978 at Prague Castle: "This is the fourth decade that peaceful skies are reigning over Europe. I think that never before has history granted the peoples of our continent such a long period of peace, and the peoples must clearly realize that this is--to a considerable, and even decisive, extent--due to the fact that half of Europe is now living in socialism. Peace in Europe--this is, to a considerable extent, the result of our joint efforts, of the coordinated foreign policy of the Warsaw Pact member states." (RUDE PRAVO 1 June 1978, p 3)

The Validity of Leninism Is Confirmed

These 10 years have thoroughly checked out the form and policy of the right-wingers and the line of our Communist Party. Since spring 1969 our successes have been directly proportional to the way we succeeded in overcoming the malignant influence of rightwing disintegration in the individual spheres. The best example of this is the development of the economy and the improvement of the working people's living standards. Comrade Gustav Husak declared: "On the whole, as the 15th congress appraised, the 1970's belong--after the crisis was overcome--to the most successful periods of Czechoslovakia's socialist construction. Our economy was and is developing dynamically, even though we have had to solve many problems from the past, carry out structural changes and make large investments in the fuel and power industries and other branches. Moreover, since 1974 the increasing prices of raw materials and the crisis-ridden phenomena in the nonsocialist world have operated as a negative factor. Despite this, our economy was and is growing smoothly, and will continue to do so in the future. (RUDE PRAVO 15 May 1978, p 2)

The consistent implementation of Leninist principles in our life is enabling the party to successfully solve even the many basic long-term problems, the historic roots of which lie in the times even before January 1968. This policy bases our people's social certainties not only on the results already achieved, but simultaneously on the clearcut and realistic plans and prospects for the coming years.

Our successes are a thorn in the side of the enemies of socialism. They disprove the enemies' contentions that the rightwing, social-democratic and revisionist kind of "democratic socialism" is somehow the only feasible road for Czechoslovakia, as well as for any other country wanting to achieve prosperity and social justice.

The 10th anniversary of the dramatic events that took place in Czechoslovakia in 1968 is increasing the nervousness of our class adversaries. The world public is interested in the developments in our country and our adversaries obviously lack arguments to prove their false thesis of long standing, namely that Czechoslovakia is a country of economic stagnation and cultural decline, where the masses are politically lethargic. They are striving to fan out the slanderous campaigns with the aid of renegades--but such means have only a limited effect. Therefore, they want to make their anticommunist fabrications weightier, by basing them on the authority of the official representatives of certain capitalist states. But this, too, has its limits. Except for such professional anticommunists as Brzezinski, many bourgeois political representatives are deliberating whether they should take part in the cheap heckling campaigns and thus lose authority among the progressive circles; whether they should bar their way toward peaceful negotiations with the socialist states.

In this international ideo-political battle a significant role is played by the truth about our past and present development. That is why it is also important to recall the ideo-theoretical and political substance of the revisionist platform. Now, 10 years later, its main features, the origins of its ideas and its class political role are clearer than they were before. The 15th CPCZ Congress underscored that the principled battle against all brands of revisionism and opportunism continues to remain an important task, particularly of the ideological front. The CPCZ is aware of the fact that the generalization of the experience it gained in the battle against revisionism is also one of its international duties.

CSO: 2400

JUNE 1978 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

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[Helmut Caspar review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 33, No 6, June 1978 signed to press 11 May 1978 pp 561-672: "Active Co-Shapers in the Struggle for Progress." Translations and/or summaries of the articles by the authors referred to below as well as by others are published in pages following this review.]

[Text] "In the 1970's the national liberation struggle of the former colonially or semicolonially enslaved peoples has reached new dimensions," notes Christian Maehrdel in a recent issue of EINHEIT. These peoples have so effectively strengthened their forces in close collaboration with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community, the international revolutionary workers movement, and the world democratic forces that they were able to inflict strategic defeats on imperialism.

The column "The Theme" in the June issue of EINHEIT is devoted to historical and topical aspects of the national liberation struggle in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. With instructive examples, several contributions prove how objects of colonial despotism became young rising states actively struggling in the world arena for peace and progress. Wolfgang Semmler describes the forming of revolutionary vanguard parties in Mozambique and Angola while Lutz Maier explains problems of the struggle of the developing countries for a new international economic system. Egon Dummer then sums up the stages of the revolutionary transformation of Ethiopia in an informative contribution.

Other EINHEIT articles deal with the USSR Constitution which Tord Riemann terms a "charter of socialist humanism" as well as with connections between party work and socialist rationalization. Teachers, propagandists and parents will find in the contribution "Forming an Awareness of History --a Component Part of the Communist Education of School Youth" interesting suggestions, for example, for cultivating our revolutionary traditions and for disseminating knowledge of the 30-year history of the country.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

DYNAMICS OF THIRD WORLD LIBERATION MOVEMENTS ANALYZED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 33 No 6, Jun 78 signed to press 11 May 78
pp 570-576

[Article by Christian Maehrdel, program chief for Basic Questions of the National Liberation Movement, Department of African-Near East Studies, Karl Marx University, Leipzig: "Basic Trends in the National and Social Liberation Struggle"]

[Text] Qualitative changes are taking place in the anti-imperialist struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples. After having won their state sovereignty, they are now facing the task of winning their economic independence. This deepens the social divergencies in the developing countries and among them. A continuation of the revolutionary process, its growing into the transition toward socialism, has begun in a number of socialistically oriented countries--based on the alliance with real existing socialism and an ever stronger turning toward Marxism-Leninism.

The national liberation struggle of the formerly colonial or semicolonial enslaved peoples reached new dimensions in the 1970's. Outstanding events have been the victories of the peoples of Indochina over U.S. imperialism and its vassals, the collapse of the Portuguese colonial system in Africa and the emergence of additional states with a socialist orientation in the former colonies of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe, the triumph of the Ethiopian people's revolution and the upsurge of the national liberation movements in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, defying the last bastions of racism and colonialism on the African continent. Working together with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community, the international revolutionary workers movement and the democratic forces in the world, the former colonial and enslaved peoples were able to enhance their own capacities so much that they could inflict strategic defeats on imperialism.

The anti-imperialist stand taken by the representatives of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America grew stronger on the international level,

in the United Nations with its special organizations and within the framework of the movement of nonalignment. Main emphasis points in their demands have been the realization of economic sovereignty, the elimination of exploitation by the international monopolies and those countries' unequal position, under discrimination, in their economic relations with the highly developed industrial capitalist states. With it, these forces are becoming increasingly committed to peace and security in the world.

All this demonstrates that qualitative changes have taken place in the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples and states and are now taking place, especially in Africa and Asia. Once victims of the despotism of international monopoly capital, they have become, in the process that destroyed the imperialist colonial system gaining for them; and reinforcing, their national independence, coshapers of international development, who have a lot to say in the struggle for peace and social progress.

On the Nature of the National Liberation Revolutions in Asia and Africa

When the imperialist system was further weakened more than three decades ago, primarily through the victory of the Soviet Union in World War II and the defeat of German and Italian fascism and of Japanese militarism, and when the foundations were laid for the formation of the socialist world system, new prospects also arose for the peoples' anticolonial struggle. Their achieving their national statehood became a reality in view of the growing strength of world socialism and signified a fundamental change in the lives of the at present circa 90 countries that formerly were colonial or semi-colonial and enslaved. This process took place in the form of anti-colonial revolutions eliminating foreign rule yet not, by that token, assuring their complete independence. Most of these countries continue to find themselves economically more or less strongly dependent on imperialism. Foreign capital is holding decisive positions in their economy and goes on exploiting them. These peoples are now facing the task of eliminating their relations of economic dependence on imperialism, overcoming their colonially inherited social backwardness, and securing their new political development through national self-determination, for "economic and political liberation carried to its conclusion is the only way to banish any kind of national suppression."¹

This requirement placed the national liberation movement of the Afro-Asian peoples into a qualitatively new phase which--compared with the preceding liberation struggle--has to solve still more complicated tasks. This essentially involves a penetrating revolutionary process, national liberation revolutions that are demonstrating the growing tendency to eliminate not only all the external forms of suppression and exploitation by imperialism, but also the exploitation relations existing within the various countries. This does not mean, however, that that tendency is able to prevail everywhere as yet.

Under the revolutionary influence of the ideas of the Great October and of real socialism in action, the national liberation revolutions acquired an entirely novel historic dimension because of the fundamental change in world events. One only needs to compare them with their precursors of the time before 1917. National liberation revolutions in Africa and Asia even still today primarily amount to "the tasks of achieving their national independence and of eliminating the feudal order, much like the tasks solved by the bourgeois revolutions in Europe and America," but at the same time they are "typified by a revolutionary-democratic, anticapitalist tendency exceeding the scope of the bourgeois revolution."²

What is decisive about these "democratic revolutions of a new type,"³ going through their revolutionary historic process--and this, as part of the revolutionary world process--is that their anti-imperialist and democratic nature enables them in our era to lead their peoples toward the socialist perspective without having to pass through the formerly unavoidable capitalist development. Among the countries with a noncapitalist development that have a socialist orientation are-- to mention but a few--Algeria, Iraq, Syria, Guinea, Burma, Libya, Angola, Mozambique and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, with many differences in the form and level of development existing among the various countries.

This noncapitalist development amounts to an objectively conditioned possibility which can be brought to realization under certain (favorable) conditions.⁴ Yet it must not be forgotten that in the national liberation process under certain other (unfavorable) conditions bourgeois-capitalist relations may assume a relatively high level of development as well, which to overcome would then call for other forms of development toward socialism. Depending on the given power ratio among classes existing within any given country--and also on the influence of forces working from the outside--, which crucially determine the composition and orientation of the leadership, two diverse and opposing tendencies are becoming visible in all national liberation. The line is either bourgeois-reformist or revolutionary. These trends in the national liberation revolution, which are fighting against each other, make for penetrating differences in the social process. The outcome in social reality is that two ways exist for their development that are taken by the various liberated Asian and African states, either socialist or capitalist.

The pivot and focal point for many internal conflicts within the national liberation movements ultimately lie in the confrontation between these two opposing trends. It may certainly be assumed that a final decision of what the outcome will be can often not be made very quickly in a given case. It has turned out in several cases that indications of one or the other trend prevailing were again blotted out later on, and this has been true for both trends, for the revolutionary trend, for example, in Egypt, Sudan and other countries, and for the other trend, for example, in the People's Republics of Congo and Benin and in the Democratic Republic of Madagascar. Internal conditions in these countries--the objective state of development

and the subjective factor--play themselves the crucial role in deciding which of these two developmental trends is to prevail. Of considerable weight at the same time is the dialectic between the internal power ratio and international development. There is no denying that the vast extent to which the revolutionary trend made itself felt particularly at the early 1960's--at which time the "zone of noncapitalist development" originated--had a great deal to do with the greater strength the worldwide revolutionary factor, mainly in the form of the socialist world system, had reached at that particular time.

Criteria of the National Liberation Struggle in the 1970's

As any historic process that has to overcome social antagonism, the national and social liberation of the Afro-Asian peoples proceeds by way of a tenacious, lengthy, complicated and sacrificial struggle. In it, the opposing interests of the African and Asian peoples on the one side and of imperialism and its allies in the form of domestic reaction on the other side collide. More clearly than in previous years it has been shown that the requirements for the development of the productive forces and vital interests of the peoples are incompatible with system-inherent goals in exploitation imperialism is seeking.

This antagonism became all the more prominent since imperialism, in view of the newly changed international power ratio in favor of socialism, peace and democracy, found itself pushed further back into the defensive in the early 1970's, and ever closer friendly relations were forming between world socialism and the national liberation movement, lending new impulses to the Afro-Asian peoples' national and social liberation struggle. Under such conditions the national liberation movement was able to achieve new successes.

For one thing, the overthrow of the last colonial power (Portugal) led to the consequence that altogether "the colonial system of imperialism in its classical form was in fact eliminated."⁵ Along with it, the racist-colonialist regimes in the south of Africa--bastions of international monopoly capital--were so deeply shaken that now their elimination has been placed on the agenda for revolutionary operation by the peoples in the south of Africa as well as on the agenda of all progressive mankind.

Then also, the anti-imperialist content of the national liberation movement has expanded and been strengthened. A whole number of neocolonialist satellite régimes succumbed under the assault by the national liberation forces--especially in Indochina and Africa. Some other countries intensified their intention to have treaties canceled which restrained their national sovereignty, treaties imposed upon them in the past by imperialist countries. These developments were brought about by the increasing mobilization of larger masses--mainly the peasantry--and by the greater role played by the workers class and the stronger commitment to the liberation struggle by democratic segments of the domestic bourgeoisie and the middle strata. It broadened the spectrum of activated national forces while it at the same time weakened

the social base of imperialist influence--particularly in the form of certain semifeudal and feudal strata and groups of the domestic bourgeoisie collaborating with imperialism.

In the wake of this development there intensified greatly the confrontation with imperialism in the economic field. That found its most striking expression in the trend that confined the role of foreign capital in the economy of the liberated states by nationalization or stronger controls. Despite differences in sociopolitical development, which would of course affect the scope and intensity of their participation, these states are turning their struggle on the international level more and more into a collective effort, whereby they are effectively supporting the confrontation with international monopoly capital inside their countries. "The massive nationalization of monopoly property and the collective stand on behalf of a 'new economic order' essentially signifies the start of a change in the relations between the liberated countries and imperialism. It is a change that, as far as its consequences are concerned, may become of an importance comparable with the disintegration of the colonial empires."⁶

Thirdly, an intensification of the social differentiation process and a new intensification of the class conflicts ensued in the Afro-Asian countries. The sociopolitical road of development chosen is becoming more clearly defined in these countries.

Simultaneously, the two main trends in social development also are becoming more strongly differentiated. As to capitalist development, it is now possible to differentiate, for all intents and purposes, between states with a medium level of capitalist development, states in which an independent capitalism is emerging, and states seeking to make a national type of capitalism prevail while engaged in some confrontation with imperialism and neocolonialism. The states going through a capitalist development by no means therefore form a homogeneous group. Differences in the internal power ratio among the various groups of the emerging national bourgeoisie, between the exploiting and exploited strata, differences in the developmental level of the productive forces and with regard to the availability of strategically important raw materials and other factors bring it about that the inequalities among the liberated states become greater through their capitalist development.

There are some countries with a socialist bent where the social, anti-imperialist content of the revolutionary processes has deepened. The main territories here are Indochina and tropical and southern Africa. "Going into the 1970's, a second wave of revolutionary-democratic currents ensued in Africa, as it were. They acquired a more precise ideological content, more and more oriented themselves along scientific socialism and are embracing Marxism-Leninism."⁷ So we are no longer dealing merely with a territorial expansion of the "zone of noncapitalist development" or of socialist oriented development, nor merely with including in this process rather significant countries, in terms of the size they occupy on the continent, but with a definite further development of the revolutionary trend in the national liberation movement.

It may be said at this time already that this variant in the development toward socialism is no longer reversible as a historic manifestation (that is, in contradistinction to what its concrete mode of appearance in any given country may be). The point made by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev was that the main developmental trend in the revolutionary liberation struggle was affirmed beyond doubt. "The will of millions of working people who have come to understand their targets and their place in life," he said, "is a reliable assurance for the consolidation of national independence and the definite triumph of a social order free from exploitation and suppression."⁸

Fourth, greater breadth and depth has been given to the anti-imperialist alliance between the national and social liberation forces operating in Africa and Asia and real socialism. The relations have assumed many different forms, methods, levels and contents. Especially visible has become its political content in that the cooperation between real socialism and the national liberation movement has, in all its variety, become a powerful force in the struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism and for a new beginning in the world.

In line with the need stressed by V. I. Lenin "for the closest rapprochement and melding of the class conscious workers in the progressive countries with the workers, peasants and slaves of all suppressed countries,"⁹ the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community have done everything they possibly could for steadily strengthening this alliance, turning it into a noticeable aid to the implementation of the national-revolutionary goals and into an effective protection against the assaults by reaction and the counterrevolution. Most recently that has been shown by the aid and assistance the socialist countries have given the Angolan and Ethiopian revolution. This internationalist stand of principle by the socialist states with regard to the national liberation struggle is fiercely being attacked and denigrated by the imperialist and reactionary forces. In a broadly pitched anti-Soviet and anticommunist campaign, some "expansionist" policy is being attributed to the socialist states--and this precisely by the very imperialist forces that are continually intervening in the internal affairs of the developing countries through open economic, political and military pressure and intervention as well as by all sorts of enticements.

These imperialist fairy tales, having no other purpose but to destroy the alliance between the socialist states and the peoples' national liberation struggle, with its guarantee for their continuing social progress, have been given the proper answer by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev: "The Soviet Union has a clear and definite position on the complicated processes in the developing countries. The Soviet Union does not interfere with the internal affairs of other countries and peoples. The respect for the inviolable right every people and every country has to choosing its own way of development is an unalterable principle of Leninist foreign policy. To be sure, we are not hiding our light under a bushel. In the developing countries like everywhere else we are standing on the side of the forces of progress, democracy and national independence, and this as friends and comrades-in-arms. Our party

supports the peoples struggling for their freedom and will continue to support them. Doing so, the Soviet Union is seeking no advantages for itself, pursuing no concessions, desiring no political supremacy and coveting no military bases. We are acting on the dictates of our revolutionary conscience, our communist conviction."¹⁰

Fifth, the upswing in the anti-imperialist liberation struggle in the 1970's has brought it about that in the political power ratio between imperialism and the national liberation movement changes have taken place in favor of the latter. Neocolonial imperialist policy, aimed at tying the liberated states up with the capitalist world economic system, once again exercising control over those states, and subjecting them to the monopolist greed for profits, has thus sunk into a deep crisis. More than ever imperialism is compelled to accommodate itself to the new conditions in the confrontation with the national liberation movement. This process is carrying with it an attempt by the imperialist states at "reevaluating" the role of the liberated states in the international class conflict and a certain modification of neocolonialist policy. That changes nothing in the exploitative and expansionist nature of imperialism. It is continuing its aggressive policy and sustaining fascist, colonial-racist and neocolonial regimes. What they are mainly concerned with, however, is to develop a dependent capitalism in these regions of the world and to block any socialist development there. Doing so, they are to a large extent using reformist practices that seem to be promising more success. And by means of the principle of "divide and conquer," they are using reactionary circles in Africa and Asia. Imperialism is kindling narrow-minded nationalism and dangerous chauvinism and is fostering anticommunism in order to destroy the alliance between the national liberation movement and real socialism, especially the USSR, an alliance of so vital an importance for the peoples.

This multilayered character of the neocolonialist policy of imperialism calls for great vigilance on the part of the revolutionary forces, particularly since this has made it more complicated to make out the designs of neocolonialism. The crisis of neocolonialism in no way weakens the antagonism between imperialism and the national liberation movement. It does, in one sense, show that in this area too imperialism is being pushed more and more into the defensive, but it also produces new and more sophisticated maneuvers on its part by which it seeks to maintain its supremacy.

The Social Deepening of the National Liberation Revolutions

As the 24th CPSU Congress established with regard to the main trend in the national liberation movement, the major consideration is "that the struggle for their national liberation has in many countries begun to grow practically into the struggle against exploitation relations, feudal as well as capitalist ones."¹¹ In the course of the national liberation revolutions in Asia and Africa two variants of their becoming deeper socially have thus far made their appearance: the people's democratic development, started by some Asian countries immediately after World War II, and the development following

a socialist orientation taken by some African and Asian countries, which started approximately 1 1/2 decades later. Whereas the former alternative amounted to a unified revolutionary transition process from democratic to socialist change under the leadership by a Marxist-Leninist party, the second case was a variant of a possible extension of the revolutionary process into the socialist revolution in which the leadership is exercised primarily by representatives of nonproletarian working classes and strata, principally by progressive forces of the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry.

This revolutionary trend became considerably stronger in the 1970's. Two events meet the eye here in particular; For one thing the early liaison between the national and social movement in the anti-imperialist struggle by the peoples of Indochina created preconditions by which they also in the south of reunited Vietnam and in Laos started the transition to socialism. The strength of world socialism acted successfully as the necessary "external" prerequisite for the victory of the people's forces in all of Vietnam and Laos. The political leadership of the revolutionary processes is in the hands of battle-tested communist parties which also know how to create a broad national unity front. This development has made the socialist world system grow further.

At another regional sector in the confrontation too, imperialism suffered a defeat of strategic dimension: on African soil through the victory of the Angolan people. This event is the crucial link for the start of the expansion and deepening of socialist development with its relevance to the entire continent.

That is the development that is taking place in countries like Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Angola, which emerged from the protracted liberation struggles, that had already been much more strongly influenced by revolutionary social elements, against Portuguese colonialism. The successful conflicts with a neocolonialist regime (Benin, Madagascar) and a feudal-monarchist regime (Ethiopia) also more and more gave rise to similarly oriented developments in those countries. The weight of the anticapitalist trend has thus grown mainly on the African continent. In the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen a similar development is taking place.

This higher type of revolutionary democratism exhibits a greater ability and willingness in appropriating Marxism-Leninism. That representatives of mainly nonproletarian working classes and strata take over, if not without conflict, proletarian-socialist ideas is an alternative not unknown in history for getting closer to socialism, even if that can never substitute for the ultimately crucial historic role of the workers class in later bringing the socialist social ideal to realization. It still, deliberately, fosters the objective and subjective preconditions for fulfilling that role in the future. What is emerging here is a vital consolidation and extension of a socialist oriented development, a closer rapprochement to the world of socialism. It must not be ignored, though, that within this developmental trend there are fluctuations, internal contradictions and differentiations.

That reflects the heterogeneous social base of these revolutionary processes, the differences in the maturity of the various working class forces and leadership groups, and also the effect of opposing political and ideological influences on leading representatives or groups.

No doubt, conditions have now improved for the socialist oriented development to grow into the process of transition to socialism, the higher revolutionary type. In a number of African countries that has led at present to a visible orientation toward people's democracy. Those peoples are thereby making an outstanding contribution to the revolutionary world process. That form of development aims at systematically preparing the transition to a new phase of progressive development in all vital spheres, to socialism.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "The Social Importance of the Serbo-Bulgarian Victories," "Werke" (Works), Vol 18, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 392.
2. Boris Ponomarev, "Topical Problems in the Theory of the Revolutionary World Process," "Der XXV. Parteitag der KPdSU und die Entwicklung der marxistisch-leninistischen Theorie" (The 25th CPSU Congress and the Development of Marxist-Leninist Theory), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1971, pp 110 f.
3. K. N. Brutents, "The Contemporary National Liberation Revolutions" (in Russian), Moscow, 1974, p 146.
4. Cf. "Grundfragen des antiimperialistischen Kampfes der Voelker Asiens, Afrikas und Lateinamerikas in der Gegenwart, Teil I" (Basic Issues of the Anti-imperialist Struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American Peoples at the Present, Part I), Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1974, pp 457 ff.
5. L. I. Brezhnev, "The Great October Revolution and the Progress of Mankind," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1977, p 22.
6. K. N. Brutents, "Imperialism and Liberated Countries," PRAVDA, 10 February 1978.
7. Ba Mamadou, "The Social-Democratic Model for Africa and Neocolonialism," PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, No 3, 1978, p 399.
8. L. I. Brezhnev, op. cit., p 22.
9. V. I. Lenin, "About a Caricature of Marxism and About 'Imperialist Economism.'" "Werke," Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1968 p 61.
10. L. I. Brezhnev, "25th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Domestic and Foreign Policy Party Tasks," Berlin, 1976, p 17.
11. "24th CPSU Congress-Documents," APN/Moscow and Dietz/Berlin, 1971, p 10.

EAST GERMANY

TASKS IN DEVELOPING WORKING CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS DISCUSSED

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[Article by Prof Dr Harry Pawula, chief, Section for the Theory of Communist Social Formation, Department of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy/Scientific Communism, Karl Marx University, Leipzig: "On the Development of the Working Class in the GDR"]

[Text] The historic mission of the workers class, established by Marx and Engels and defended, and further developed, by Lenin, has found its highest stage of realization thus far in the accomplishments of the socialist countries. What are the conditions under which the workers class becomes the main political and social force? Why can the workers class fulfill its world historic mission only under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party? What characterizes the maturation process, the higher development of the workers class in the GDR, especially during the continued shaping of the developed socialist society?

In the "Communist Manifesto," Karl Marx together with Friedrich Engels established that the workers class, because of its class situation, had the historic mission to bring about a complete transformation of all social relations. This was an idea the founders of our scientific world-outlook had previously worked out in their essay "The Holy Family," where they emphasized that the proletariat could not free itself "without suspending all of the in-human conditions of life in today's society coming together in the situation in which it is."¹ That was what gave voice to the historic mission of the proletariat: In engaging in its revolutionary struggle for its own liberation it would also conduct the struggle for the liberation of all the exploited and suppressed.

This amazing foresight was brilliantly confirmed throughout the 60 years of history of real socialism. It has been demonstrated in practice that what is "most important in the Marxist doctrine is the clarification of the world historic role of the proletariat as the creator of socialist society."²

As the conscious, creative subject of the historically necessary and inevitable transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism, the workers class is the main revolutionary force. Led by its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, it is the thinking and combative leader in this world-embracing struggle.

Led by Lenin's party, the Russian workers were the first to act successfully in conformity with the objective laws of social development formulated by Marx. By establishing their political power, they thrust open the gate to the proper history of man. In the achievements of the Soviet people and its Leninist party, and in the successes of the working people in the other countries of the community of socialist states, the thus far highest stage of realization of the historic mission of the workers class manifests itself. The revolutionary changes brought about by the workers class under the leadership by its communist party in the construction of the new society are at the same time leading to a decisive quantitative and qualitative growth of the workers class itself and to a further increase of its revolutionary creative potential.

The Working Class--Political and Social Main Force

A central place in Marxist-Leninist theory and in the policy of the communist and workers parties in the socialist countries therefore is assigned to the development of the workers class, to the further shaping of its leading role as crucially prerequisite to the successful fulfillment of its world historic mission. It is stated, for example, in the SED program as issued by the ninth party congress: "In the shaping of the developed socialist society, the leading role of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party is growing, as is the importance of the labor unions in all domains of public life. It will also be the party's endeavor in the future to strengthen workers class influence in all vital spheres."³

In defining the proletariat as the most revolutionary class, Marx and Engels, as well as Lenin, always proceeded from the objective situation in which it found itself. Marx would be ridiculing all those who proved incapable of comprehending the world historic mission of the proletariat and would accuse Marxism of "idolizing the proletariat." If the socialist writers were attributing a world historic role to the proletariat, they did not do so, he made clear, because they took the proletarians for gods. "It does not matter what one or another proletarian, or even the entire proletariat, may right now imagine the goal to be. What matters is what it truly is and what, in conformity with being what it is, it will historically be forced to become. Its goal and its social activity are manifestly and irrevocably staked out through its own situation in life as through the whole organization of bourgeois society today."⁴ In conformity with social existence itself, the workers class has become the centerpiece of the new era, determining its main trend.

Firmly based on the insights by Marx and Engels, Lenin defended their views and creatively developed them further under the conditions of the new era.

While this was true with respect to the continuation and further development of Marxism in all its elements, it was particularly true for establishing the revolutionary role of the proletariat in the imperialist stage of capitalism as well as during the transition from capitalism to socialism and communism. For Lenin too the point of departure was the objective essence of the proletariat: "Capitalism lifted the most important industrial branches onto the level of large-scale machine production; after having in this manner socialized production, it created the material conditions for a new order and at the same time produced a new social force: the class of the factory workers, the rural proletariat. All its working and living conditions are organizing that class, are forcing it to think, are offering it the possibility to enter the arena of political struggle."⁵ Lenin realized like Marx that the proletariat alone was able to bring about the revolutionary transformation of all society, but that ability is not given per se, it "only grows out of the material conditions of capitalist large-scale production. This ability is given, at the start of the transition from capitalism to socialism, to the proletariat alone."⁶

The discovery by Marx, that the role of the workers class, its historic mission as the creator of the communist society, objectively follows from the socioeconomic conditions of existence of the workers class and the essential features it acquired thereby, applies equally much to the workers class in socialism. The objective conditions identifying the workers class as the main social and political force of social progress in the shaping of developed socialist society in particular amount to the fact that the workers class is most intimately connected with the socialist people's ownership in the means of production, creates in the economy--primarily in industry--the necessary and the surplus product through its physical and intellectual work, producing the larger part of the material wealth of society. Thereby it, by and large, creates the economic, political and intellectual-cultural conditions under which socialist society exists and lays the essential foundations for its own reproduction at an ever higher level.

Inseparable Unity Between Party and Class

However, the workers class can neither win nor creatively shape the communist form of society, or be a leader in this penetrating revolutionary transformation, without a theoretical comprehension of its mission, without deeper insights into the inevitable interrelations in the world in which it acts. On that basis alone can it act in a unified, organized and conscious manner and can it acquire those subjective capabilities as a leading class the formation and development of which principally depend on the political and ideological work of the Marxist-Leninist party. Marx and Engels therefore formulated as early as for the statutes of the First International: "In its struggle against the collective power of the propertied classes the proletariat can act as a class only if it constitutes itself as a special political party in opposition to all old parties that were formed by the propertied classes. Constituting the proletariat as a political party is indispensable for assuring the triumph of the social revolution and its highest goal, the abolition of the classes."⁷

That precisely also always was Lenin's standpoint; it has remained the standpoint of all Marxist-Leninists to this day. In establishing his theory of the new type of party--as in all other basic theoretical matters--Lenin relied on the development of the party idea in Marx and Engels. "In order to rule," Lenin wrote, "an army of steeled revolutionaries, of communists, is needed. Such an army exists. It is called party."⁸ The proletariat will "become absolutely an invincible force only by having its ideological unification strengthened based on Marxist principles and by the material unity of the organization that fuses together the millions of working people into the army of the workers class."⁹

So the party becomes the crucial factor enabling the workers class to fulfill its historic mission. Only when led by its revolutionary party can the objectively extant leadership potentials be released in the workers class. In this unity between party and workers class lies the salient point for understanding the leadership role of the workers class, its inevitable steady growth, and there is also found the key to understanding the universal inevitability in the growing leadership role of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party. The party program as adopted by the ninth party congress follows the same basic thoughts of revolutionary theory and practice in saying: "The workers class can fulfill its revolutionary and creative historic mission only if its party lives up to its leadership tasks as the conscious and organized vanguard, the supreme class organization."¹⁰

This formulation expresses the indissoluble unity of workers class and party. It, on the one hand, enables the party to be the leading force, the most important factor, in the shaping of developed socialist society. On the other hand, it enables the workers class, being the largest, best organized, most disciplined and most conscious class, to direct the struggle of all working people for social progress. The strength and invincibility of the Marxist-Leninist party are rooted in its own close, indissoluble ties with the class and all the working people. In enforcing the historic interests of the workers class the party finds its most important task. For that reason it always approaches all decisions from the class point of view, whereby it insures stable and steady advances by all society.

Placing the interests of the workers class and of all working people in the center of leadership activity--this was precisely the course that was taken consistently in the years following the eighth and ninth party congresses by focusing on the main task in its unity of economic and social policy which the Eighth SED Congress had initiated. The purpose was to implement socialism at an ever higher level. This leadership activity by the Marxist-Leninist party lends the most striking expression to the leadership role of the workers class. Deeply rooted within all the people and the workers class, SED policy implements working class interests and thus, the basic interests of all the working people in the GDR.

The inevitable growth in the leadership role of the working class and its revolutionary party in the process of the shaping of the developed socialist

society results from the increasing weight of the objective conditions as well as from the subjective factor. The dialectic in the interrelations between objective conditions and the subjective factor to a large extent here determines the content, forms and methods of the political leadership of society by the party. "Greater socialist mass awareness, for instance, is indissolubly connected with developing the material technical base of socialism, the perfecting of socialist production relations, the broad development of socialist democracy, the gradual rapprochement among all classes and strata, the systematic dispensation of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and other processes."¹¹ Conversely, the solution of economic, social and scientific-technical tasks today more than ever depends on the state of development of socialist consciousness, on a deep understanding of the objective interrelations between productive forces and production relations, the dialectic of base and superstructure, and the close connection between politics, economics and ideology.

Lenin already, extending the thought of Marx, made a special point of that through the thoroughness of historic action the scope of the mass would increase that carries on that action: "The greater the thrust, the scope of historic actions, the greater will be the number of people taking part in these actions and, vice versa, the deeper the transformation we intend to bring about, the more interest in, and a conscious attitude toward, it must be awakened, in that time and again more millions and millions have to be convinced of the need for it."¹² Continuing the shaping of developed socialist society in our republic, whereby the fundamental preconditions are created for the gradual transition to communism--that is one such comprehensive historic action, a historic process of profound political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes which can become reality only through the conscious acts undertaken by the GDR citizens. This was what Comrade Erich Honecker meant when he said: "As experience is showing us, we have to solve tasks in this segment of our history that are in no way less complicated, and by no means ask for less revolutionary elan, than those we did solve up to when socialist production relations triumphed."¹³ For that reason the Marxist-Leninist party finds its task in making the workers class and all working people aware of their social interest in completely exhausting the historic possibilities and advantages of socialism, and in mobilizing all citizens in the rigorous implementation of the eighth and ninth party congress course, tested throughout life and aimed at the people's well-being. Precisely because the working people are experiencing in daily life that everything is done for their own good and that their creative activity benefits society and each individual, those impulses are more and more being released by which the main task is being implemented and by which, through the all round strengthening of our republic, we contribute to the power of real socialism and to the safeguarding of peace.

Further Molding Essential Working Class Features

In this process of shaping and developing the communist form of society the essential features of the workers class are developed further too.

Already while fighting the bourgeoisie, the working class acquires such characteristics as political organization and awareness, discipline and collectivity. Under socialist conditions, however, in the exercise of political power, as the producing and owning class, it embodies a higher stage of development compared to the exploited and suppressed proletariat. In addition to the traditional revolutionary characteristics preserved and further developed by the working class under socialist conditions, it produces new characteristics conforming to its basically different social position and role. "The maturity of the working class, its leadership ability," Comrade Erich Honecker has said in this context, "are shown, not least, in how it helps its allies in developing their own creative potentials and making their own important contribution to the common socialist effort. No doubt," he went on to conclude from it, "this is a mutual give and take, but in its political essence this profound social process is determined by the rapprochement all allies are making toward the working class. It proceeds on the basis of the ideals of this class which has the historical mission of establishing socialism and communism."¹⁴ Continuing the shaping of the developed socialist society turns out to be also in our country a process in which the alliance of the working class with the class of the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people is becoming ever closer.

The basis for this development has been and is that in the course of the antifascist-democratic transformation the working class in the GDR won the crucial power positions in the state and the decisive command echelons in the economy. That objectively broadened the domain of its interests and responsibility. No longer is the working class merely a producer and a consumer. Having been without ownership under capitalism, it now becomes, together with the other working people, the collective owner of the crucial means of production. Divorced from and suppressed by government power under capitalism, it then conquers, defends and consolidates its own power. These revolutionary changes in its social substance are placing the decisive accents for its further quantitative and qualitative growth as a class.

In this working class maturation process in the transition period from capitalism to socialism, and in the subsequent stages in the development of communist society as well, all progress made by the class affects the progress in all social conditions and, conversely, all progress in those conditions affects the progress of the class. We are dealing here with the basic idea of scientific communism that shows the various developmental segments in the forming of communist society to be simultaneously working class steps of maturation. Any given status reached in the implementation of the historic working class mission reflects the degree of maturity the class has attained in its leadership over all society, and every new strategic stage at the same time posits new criteria for the further and higher development of the working class as the main political and social force of social progress.

Confronted with complex and complicated leadership tasks in the political, economic and cultural-intellectual domains, and with the need to protect the socialist achievements, the working class of the GDR met the test of those objective requirements. The important changes in the life of our people that go back, in particular, to the eighth and ninth party congress decisions awakened and are awakening the energy and confidence of all working people, especially of the workers class. Led by its Marxist-Leninist party, the workers class acquires always at the right time the ability and capability of increasing its leadership influence in all domains of life in the various developmental stages of the socialist revolution while further molding its own essential features like the socialist attitude to work and social property, the desire for, and the proper conduct in, performance, a competitive spirit, productive creativity, collectivity, mutual aid and so forth.

The greater leadership role of the workers class will continue to affect primarily our material production, which is the most important sphere of human activity and will in the end determine the whole life of society and its social progress. The production of material goods is the basic condition for the existence and development of human society. It was in his main work, "Das Kapital," that Karl Marx wrote: "The labor process is purposeful activity for producing use values, the appropriation of nature for human needs, the general condition for the man-nature metabolism, the eternal natural condition for human life."¹⁵ Material production, however, as Marx has taught, is not confined to the man-nature relation, it also embraces inter-human relations. "In order to produce, they enter into certain relations and relationships, and only within these social relations and relationships, their relation to nature, their production, proceeds."¹⁶ The social nature of labor then is essentially determined by the worker's attitude to the means of production and, as derived from it, by the purpose of production, the connection between the labor of the individual and the labor of society, by the producers' relations within the labor process itself and by the ways and means of production.

Creating fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism through the continued shaping of the developed socialist society thus mainly means realizing the decisive premises for it in the economy, the material-technical base, and in production. The dialectic between productive forces and production relations shows up most clearly there in the development of scientific-technical progress. The application of science and technology in socialism leads to the creation of an efficient material-technical base, the perfecting of working conditions, the reduction of the essential differences between physical and mental work, and the fostering of the rapprochement among the classes and strata, and it thereby also affects the further molding of socialist modes of thinking and conduct and socialist interhuman relations. The unity of economic and social policy here is an essential condition and guarantee that the social effects of scientific-technical progress serve the realization of socialism at an ever higher level. That is why Comrade Erich Honecker has emphasized: "Our economic strategy is based on our accelerating scientific-technical progress and enhancing its economic and social effectiveness."¹⁷

As the producing class that exercises the power, the workers class is most closely connected with scientific-technical progress. It has an objective interest in the greatest possible development of scientific-technical progress and it is able--due to its objective class situation and being led by its Marxist-Leninist party--to bring this interest to realization, as the leadership class working together with the socialist intelligentsia and all working people.

The productive creativity, as the essential feature of the working class, makes its appearance most prominently in socialist competition, in the plan discussion, in the struggle for the fulfillment of the plans and counter-plans, of the science and technology plans, and in the innovator movement. It can be concluded from the fact that since the eighth party congress approximately 60 percent of the innovators has, for instance, always been production workers--in 1976, it was 64 percent--that the innovator movement, in terms of its participation, has become a working class mass movement. And the role of the industrial workers as the core of the working class becomes perfectly clear here: Whereas the average proportion of innovators submitting proposals in 1976 was more than 30 percent of all working people, it was 39 percent in the various branches of socialist industry. The innovator movement--aimed at reaching high scientific-technical and economic results--is also a political working class mass movement for scientific-technical progress, through which the working class itself goes through a higher qualitative development. In the process of perfecting socialist democracy it also shapes further such essential features as sociopolitical activity and initiative, a sense of political responsibility, and participation in the management and planning of social processes.

The abilities and willingness to deliberately shaping social development are characteristic of the development of socialist personalities and are reflected in the exercise of the leadership role by the workers class. It is typical of the socialist countries, the GDR included, that the leadership cadre of the Marxist-Leninist party, the mass organizations and the socialist state and economy have principally been recruited from working class ranks. For instance, 43.8 percent of all the People's Chamber deputies in the 1971-1976 legislative period, in terms of occupation trained for or initial jobs, was composed of workers; 43.1 percent of all bezirk assembly deputies consisted, in social structure, of workers. The success of the SED policy in strengthening workers' influence in all social domains can be seen in that this proportion further increased in the 17 October 1976 elections to 47.0 and 45.2 percent respectively.

In the intellectual-cultural domain the essential socialist features of the working class show particularly in the desire for all round education and high vocational skills, and in the extensive appropriation of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook. The steady improvement of the educational level and the changes in the vocational and qualifications structure are of decisive importance to the qualitative character of the workers class. Even in his "Theories on Surplus Value," Karl Marx disclosed the close connection between

education growth and labor productivity. It was in that sense that Marx called popular education "the precondition in every instance for overall production, that is, the chief accumulation of wealth."¹⁸ From that also the working class obtains an increasing capability in living up to its role in production and society in accordance with steadily rising demands.

GDR Industrial Production Workers With Respect to Vocational Skills (in Percent)

Year	Technicians	Partial or incomplete vocational training
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1955	25.6	74.4
1970	52.5	47.5
1976	60.2	39.8

The workers' active participation in various forms of Marxist-Leninist training and advanced training also got a big boost in the GDR, especially after the Eighth and Ninth SED Congresses. New forms--often after the model of Soviet workers--developed in our country while traditional forms were preserved and activated. Especially since 1973, theoretical conferences of the party and labor union organizations in the enterprises about the founders of Marxism-Leninism and the massive study by working people pertaining to it have become standard procedure in many places. More than 60 percent of all who take part in this study and in the theory conferences is made up of production workers. The schools of socialist work have turned out to be another important form of political conversation, Marxist-Leninist training and the application of knowledge acquired. In 1976, there were 2,081,981 working persons in 110,125 schools of socialist work--almost one out of two being work collectives of production workers--who took part in this movement in the GDR.

Even these few chosen examples reveal that the working class is going through penetrating and significant changes in the process of the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. These changes, resulting from the growing leadership role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, relate to the worker's total personality and heighten the effect the class has as the main political and social force in all domains of society. They are also leading to the result that the essential differences between physical and mental work diminish further and that the degree of social and political uniformity in the class becomes greater. It is for that reason that the party finds one of its fundamental obligations to the class in creating the kind of political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural conditions that facilitate the formation, at an ever higher level, of the new, socialist features among all workers. Precisely that way the working class always again lives up to its new and growing tasks in socialist society.

FOOTNOTES

1. Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx, "Die heilige Familie," "Werke" (Works), Vol 2, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1958, p 38.
2. V. I. Lenin, "The Historic Destinies of Karl Marx' Doctrine," "Werke," Vol 18, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 576.
3. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 37.
4. Engels/Marx, op. cit., p 38.
5. V. I. Lenin, "What Are the 'Friends of the People' and How Do They Fight Against the Social Democrats?" "Werke," Vol 1, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1967, pp 185-186.
6. V. I. Lenin, "The Great Initiative," "Werke," Vol 29, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 411.
7. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "Resolutions of the General Congress of the Hague, 2 to 7 September 1872," "Werke," Vol 18, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 149.
8. V. I. Lenin, "All-Russian Miners Congress," "Werke," Vol 32, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 48.
9. V. I. Lenin, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," "Werke," Vol 7, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1956, p 420.
10. "Programm . . .," loc. cit., pp 65-66.
11. Kurt Hager, "Der IX. Parteitag und die Aufgaben der Gesellschaftswissenschaften" (The Ninth Party Congress and the Social Sciences), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 14.
12. V. I. Lenin, "Eighth All-Russian Soviet Congress," "Werke," Vol 31, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, pp 494-495; cf. also Engels/Marx, "Die heilige Familie," loc. cit., p 86.
13. Erich Honecker, "The Party's Tasks in the Further Implementation of the Ninth Party Congress Decisions," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18/19 February 1978, p 3.
14. Erich Honecker, "The Leading Role of the Working Class Party," "Reden und Aufsätze" (Speeches and Essays), Vol 1, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1975, pp 497-498.
15. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital, Vol 1," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 198.

16. Karl Marx, "Wage Labor and Capital," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 6, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 407.
17. Erich Honecker, "The Party's Tasks . . .," loc. cit., p 5.
18. Karl Marx, "Theorien ueber den Mehrwert," Third Part, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 26.3, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1968, p 290, p 434.

5885

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

PARTY TASKS IN PROMOTING ECONOMIC RATIONALIZATION DESCRIBED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 33 No 6, Jun 78 signed to press 11 May 78
pp 631-636

[Article by Hans Wiha, first secretary, SED Werdau kreis management:
"Socialist Rationalization and Party Work"]

[Text] Cutting down jobs and releasing labor power is the important target of socialist rationalization. What responsibility does that bestow on the management of enterprises and facilities in the territory? What political leadership does the party organization have to exercise in this process? Party experiences in Werdau Kreis are submitted about this. It is shown which important ideological issues have to be resolved in conjunction with rationalization. How does the work with commissions and consultation bases help advance the rationalization process? Examples and results pertaining to it are presented.

Rigorously carrying on the program on growth, well-being and stability, this party course aimed at the implementation of the main task as a long-term strategic orientation, calls for significantly improving in all economic fields the effectiveness of production based on the further deepening of intensification. This of necessity implies accelerating our socialist rationalization as a complex economic and social process. Rationalization is the concrete realization of the law of time economy. It means attaining high economic and social results through a reduced investment of live and embodied labor. Scientific-technical progress is to be made through rationalization. It includes the replacement and modernization of obsolete machinery as much as the introduction of new technological procedures or the modification of extant techniques and technology. Rationalizing also means a multishift capacity use of basic assets, the highest investment efficiency and a scientific production and labor organization. It furthermore means more and more eliminating heavy physical, hazardous and monotonous work and having machines and mechanisms take care of those activities, so that men may address themselves to more highly skilled work. Rationalization under our social conditions means steady improvements in the working people's working and living conditions.

A truly complex task then, making high demands on management activity because it entails many economic, organizational and scientific-technical tasks. Especially political-ideological work faces high demands, for it must assist in having clearly understood the importance, substance and goal of socialist rationalization and its social need and benefit to all. It must mobilize the working people for dedicating all their experiences, abilities and skills to socialist rationalization.

In fulfillment of the eighth and ninth party congress decisions, Werdau Kreis also has achieved considerable economic successes in which socialist rationalization has had an increasing share. Many enterprises introduced new technological procedures. Industrial output was doubled within the last decade while labor power was reduced. Now we are trying to generalize the experiences gathered in the deepening of intensification. Here we largely concentrate on explaining how it became possible to cut down jobs and release labor power. That no one should sit on his laurels is something we are taking for granted. The tasks given to us in the kreis call for new and greater efforts. Included in them are the reconstruction of entire enterprises, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress based on world standard comparisons in the development of the product as well as the procedure, and the full use of the great possibilities of territorial rationalization.

Releasing Labor Power Means Gaining Labor Power

The saving of labor power is an important criterion in scientific-technical progress. In having been able to come up with good results in this, not the least reason for it has been that we took rigorous issue in our party work with those who would combine the demand for a better performance through intensification with asking for more labor power. Those are people who think that is the only way to insure the planned economic growth and the application of modern techniques and technologies. That kind of demand profoundly opposes the nature and goals of socialist rationalization because ultimately it does not mean a saving but an increase in live labor per production unit.

Laments neither improve the labor power situation nor the effectiveness of social production. In fact, our experiences have shown us that bemoaning the shortage of labor power--which no one will give us--often hides backwardness in rationalization. For solving the labor power problem there simply is no other way but rigorous rationalization. Gaining labor power means cutting down on jobs--through new technologies and through taking old equipment out. It "has been demonstrated that rationalization measures will have the greatest success when they are based on the use of the most modern technologies. That is the way to improve labor productivity, which our country needs. Then we also succeed in saving jobs, which we consider one of the most important results of scientific-technical progress."*

*Erich Honecker, "The Party's Tasks in the Further Realization of the Ninth SED Congress Decisions," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18/19 February 1978, p 5.

We need labor power thus released to employ it where modern machines and installations are being optimized and modern basic assets must receive multishift capacity use. It also helps using the basic assets--this largest part of the people's wealth--as efficiently as possible. Labor power is urgently needed also for constructing the means of rationalization. Creating modern branch-specific means of production and assembly lines and thus perfecting the production technology with the least of efforts calls for skilled labor. That can be had by releasing manpower. One only has to see to it that appropriate training is planned, organized and carried out in time.

Another aspect of releasing labor power should be mentioned: In implementing the main task policy, which is aimed at the well-being of the working class and all the people, the services, health and welfare, the facilities that are of great importance to the well-being of our citizens and the further shaping of the socialist way of life, are gaining an ever greater significance. They too need skilled labor, which has to come out of the territory through rationalization, saving and release.

That also shows rationalization is a complex task in which economic and sociopolitical decisions closely intertwine. The complexity of rationalization places a greater responsibility on the managers of enterprises and facilities for achieving economic and social rationalization effects in unity. There are complicated issues to confer on and to decide, and solutions have to be found such as: At what point in the industrial reproduction process can a rationalization project be of the greatest economic use or what is the complex solution needed for it? Is the economic performance anticipated for the enterprise also effective from the territorial or national economic point of view? How and where can labor be cut back there, and where is there an urgent need for labor? What are the skills needed for the new activities and how and where will training be given in them? Scrutiny is also needed for how, concretely, the working and living conditions are to be improved in the course of socialist rationalization. The effects to be expected for the territory are to be clarified: What demands will result from increased multishift work for the supply facilities, the service enterprises, for commuting and cultural institutions?

These are questions the solution of which calls for politically responsible planning and organization properly ahead of time and also for high-grade political indoctrination, from the kreis executives all the way to the basic organizations, from the state managers, the chief operators primarily and the brigade chiefs, the associates of the cadre departments down to the labor union functionaries, who all can do a great deal through their daily work for improving the understanding of the interests of rationalization in all their variety. The main point is to make all working people realize that socialist rationalization serves their very own interest and is prerequisite to further improving the standard of living and the working and living conditions, and that rationalization demands their creative participation. All prerequisites exist under socialist conditions for combining the cutback in jobs with new solutions in the labor process. Often it will be possible for working people to take on interesting projects that give them more pleasure and stimulate the development of their abilities.

At the Neukirchen metalworking state enterprise, for instance, the working people--before rationalization measures were introduced--had to handle several tons of material per shift manually. Such heavy physical labor has been turned primarily into a control activity after the plant was reconstructed and now has fully automated plate radiator conveyers. In the clothing plants socialist rationalization released spinners and extractors who, after receiving the proper training, could be made to operate the modern Voltex or fiber equipment. More skilled, interesting and demanding labor combined there with wage increases of 139 and 137 percent respectively.

Through socialist rationalization, 1,642 jobs in the centrally directed industry of the kreis were restructured last year through scientific labor organization. Through socialist rationalization the kreis saved 1.2 million labor hours in 1977 (which will be increasing to circa 1.9 million in 1978). Industrial commodity production was raised thereby by 10.1 percent in 1977, and labor productivity grew by 12.6 percent compared to 1975.

Rationalization Under Political Direction

Experiences gained in Werdau Kreis in deepening intensification by socialist rationalization indicate this: Those enterprises reached the best results where, under the leadership by the party organizations, managers focused on long-range conceptions for the reorganization of whole production sectors or plants and for introducing new highly productive technologies--always making sure that this focus would in fact be put into effect--, and where they would confer with the labor collectives so that everybody knew what changes he had to expect and at what time, what his personal prospects were and what further skills his future activity would require.

The measures in demand are best fulfilled where the party organizations in their political mass activities also pay attention to visibly and convincingly presenting the advantages of rationalization measures and the communists take the lead when it becomes a matter of implementing such projects; political work aims at analyzing the causes of impediments occurring, finds ways to overcome the deficiencies in concert with the working people and, not least, rigorously controls the enforcement of rationalization; responsibilities for the implementation of the projects are clearly defined and the full exercise of such responsibilities is instilled in the managers; the fighting strength of the party organizations, through party assignments, is more strongly concentrated on the implementation of the rationalization projects and party controls focus on the substance in the structuring of such processes, for instance, whether the manpower is carefully selected and trained in time, as required for the three-shift use of modern installations; political work makes clear time and again that rationalization implies the improvement of working and living conditions and attention is paid to carefully clarifying all the problems connected with the changed living conditions; and the communists constantly see to it that the application of the best experiences in the deepening of intensification and proven innovator methods are placed in the center of management activity and socialist competition.

In politically preparing rationalization projects--the experiences of our party work tell us--all forms of plan preparation should be used, starting with the work with intensification concepts via annual enterprise conferences down to the plan discussion and the discussion of the annual counterplans. For here is where economic growth and product and procedure development are defined long-term and where the main efforts in industrial development and the requirements for reaching the targets are discussed. Here the work collectives get their concrete ideas about the future development of their enterprise and the demands that are made on them in connection with the organizing of the production process and the necessary improvements in performance, providing them with realistic prerequisites for new initiatives and creative participation. Politically preparing and conducting such conferences and seeing to it that there the best experiences are handed on about labor aimed at intensification is an important element of party work. And there it must also be made clear that correlating the five year plans, and the annual plans, of the enterprises, based on long-term intensification concepts, with the territorial plan will tap considerable reserves for an effective use of investments, labor funds, available capacities and the shaping of working and living conditions.

For conducting the intensification process according to party rules, the work with party commissions and consultation bases also has been found to be useful. The party commission for scientific-technical progress, for example, assists the basic organizations in focusing their political work on the elaboration of ambitious scientific-technical targets and on the implementation of the science and technology plans. It orients them to devoting attention to the development of a creative climate, the innovator system and an advance fulfillment of the most important projects in the enterprises.

The basic assets economy commission of Kreis Headquarters discusses and coordinates the political indoctrination of all social forces for obtaining a high capacity use of the modern machines and installations, and in the consultation bases in "scientific labor organization," "intensification," and "world standard comparisons" the party secretaries and many other management cadre are made familiar with the best production intensification experiences, so that they will be more expert in conducting those processes.

Results of Steady Work

Wherever party work helps prepare and carry out socialist rationalization in the kreis, measurable successes ensue. Take the example of the state enterprise of the Crimmitschau textile plants. This enterprise manufactures a wide assortment of worsted and mixed fabrics for outer garments in menswear and lady's-wear and modern products in Voltex and knitted fur. Here, based on a long-term intensification program, production was concentrated by shutting down obsolete plants. The development of new high-fashion products satisfying up-to-date demands was directly tied in with setting up new technological procedures by creating, over a number of years, new production lines

for the manufacture of Voltex products based on the Malimo technology and modern installations for producing knitted furs (synthetic fur) on the premises as they were.

Through effective political indoctrination and strict management, the comrades in this enterprise found a good way for getting still more out of the investments than had originally been expected.

In preparing for it, they attached great importance to reinforcing the working people's conviction, by means of the political-ideological work of the party organizations and all social forces, that they would suffer no personal disadvantages by seeing their old jobs disappear but would find their personal share in the economic yield of the enterprise enlarged by taking on jobs in a department working with highly productive machinery and installations.

By and large, the labor for the knitted fur production and the Voltex expansion came from a cutback in jobs at two production plants working with obsolete spinning and weaving equipment. In 1976 there were 74 workers who started jobs in this new department, 75 in 1977, and in 1978, there will be 17 more. At the same time, through this rationalization in worsted yarn weaving, there was a cutback of 23 jobs while the output in worsted yarn textiles was increased by 150,000 square meters per year. Through making the science and technology plans take effect, this enterprise will be saving 1.3 million working hours between 1975 and 1978. And its output is growing by 31 percent.

Other and by no means insignificant results of deepened intensification are noticed in significant product improvements and the availability of larger production areas. The share of products bearing the highest quality certification came to M 6 million in 1975; it will be M 50 million in 1978. Out of previous production areas 900 square meters were gained for territorial purposes and 16,200 square meters for setting up new equipment.

So the principle of reducing the number of jobs as outcome of rationalization investments is nicely put into effect in this enterprise. It has been seen to it that labor productivity grows faster than output, the proportion of products with the highest guaranty seal faster than overall production, and that a rational utilization of the funds finds its expression in a steadily rising basic assets quota.

The Werdau state double-cylinder spinning-mill enterprise cut back 66 jobs in 1977 and freed 30 workers by shutting down one plant and taking out its old equipment. The workers were used for insuring a triple shift operation of the modern chemical fiber spinning-mill and the double-shift operation of the classical ring spinning frames. Through the personal example set by the communists and patient indoctrination among the working people and by clarifying their personal problems, basic assets utilization could be steadily increased also in this enterprise. Plans for 1978 are to cut back at least 50 jobs by taking out the obsolete equipment and to use the workers thus

released , after they have been prepared for it, in the three-shift operation of the open-end spinning investment project, which is scheduled to go into operation ahead of time. That way, a total of 76 workers produced 1,600 tons of yarn. Under the old conditions 160 workers would have been needed for it.

At the Neukirchen metalworking state enterprise rationalization investments likewise were focused on replacing old jobs by new equipment. Purposeful political party organization leadership made clear that a new conveyor belt for plate radiator production would provide more economical operations than originally planned. An analysis was made of these determinations in the decision of principle and more rational solutions were found.

These projects substituted for 55 jobs with heavy work conditions 52 new ones and increased the output by 212.7 percent between 1975 and 1978 and the labor productivity by 188 percent, while the efficiencies and qualities of radiators for housing construction improved. By going from using only one machine to several machines, jobs could also be cut back in this enterprise. In 1978 alone, the production of plate radiators will go up by 159 percent while the number of manpower stays the same.

Such well functioning enterprises make us realize that success is being achieved where, in the fulfillment and targeted overfulfillment of the plan tasks, socialist rationalization is closely combined with socialist competition and where, starting from the party organizations all the way down to each and every working person, it is made clear that socialist rationalization is to be carried out with the people and for the people. A willingness for creative participation thus achieved renders the work collectives' competition targets more concrete, lends new impulses to the innovator movement and encourages the working people in their desire for advanced political and technical training. That also helps in giving greater skill to the work with notes on the plan, to personal and collective-creative plans on increasing labor productivity, and to the work with engineering passes.

In preparation of the 30th anniversary of the GDR, our kreis is concentrating its efforts on improving the housing conditions, expanding hospital capacities, reconstructing ambulatory health and care facilities, the further development of the commercial and services network and the creation of new opportunities for intellectual-cultural and sports activities, especially in workers' centers. The deepening of production intensification and the creation of socialist living conditions for the citizens focus on gaining time in the sense of the law on time economy.

The better the use we make of time, the more it will benefit us. That is the reason why the mass movement "Pedometer GDR 30--A Time Gain Is a Net Gain" that was set up in Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk, and which Kreis Headquarters and the executives of the basic organizations are called upon to make the centerpiece of their leadership activity, will help in solemnly getting set, through great successes in the implementation of the ninth party congress resolutions, for the 30th anniversary of the GDR.

5885

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

NEED FOR IMPROVED CONSCIOUSNESS OF HISTORY AMONG YOUTH STRESSED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-WIRTSCHAFTSDIENST in German Vol 19 No 24, 26 Jun 78 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "SED Criticizes Pupils' Consciousness of History."
A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article referred to below follows
this commentary]

[Text] The theoretical SED organ EINHEIT has expressed dissatisfaction with the GDR pupils' consciousness of history. It emphatically calls upon the schools to pay greater attention in the future to this element of "communist education" and "fully to exhaust the available potentials in all fields of instruction" for it. It would be of the greatest importance for every pupil to be made familiar with the concrete course of history so that he could from that vantage point come to comprehend history as an inevitable process. "Socialist consciousness of history" would furthermore include a clear party-mindedness on behalf of socialism and the "closest solidarity with the socialist fatherland" as much as an "unequivocal challenge to imperialism, fascism and imperialist war." In a 6-point program the SED journal indicated which substantive emphases should in the future be placed in history instruction in GDR schools. It attached special importance in this context to teaching and cultivating the "revolutionary traditions of the working class struggle" and to becoming acquainted with the history of the GDR.

SED Journal Article

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 33 No 6, Jun 78 signed to press 11 May 78
pp 637-644

[Article by Siegfried Kahl, political researcher, SED Central Committee; Dr Manfred Wiedemann, sector chief, SED Central Committee; and Dr Helmut Zessin, political researcher, SED Central Committee: "Forming Consciousness of History--Component of the Communist Education of School Children." For related information, see JPRS 71116, 15 May 78, No 1534 of this series, pp 36-55]

[Text] While the history and civics teachers have a special responsibility for it, it still is a matter for the entire school and all social forces to form a socialist consciousness of history. The article emphasizes substantive priorities, for example the teaching and cultivating of the revolutionary working class traditions, acquaintance with GDR history and the homeland environment, the appropriation of the humanistic legacy and of the effects of important historic personalities, and it points out potentials for teaching history in a scientifically precise, vivid, pertinent and problem-saturated manner

Involved in the shaping of developed socialism, our country's youth has the mission to construct communism. Knowledge of the developmental laws of human society is needed for it, knowledge of the road behind us and of the experiences acquired in the working class struggle for the fulfillment of its historic mission. The knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory and of the practical experiences of the revolutionary struggle is a crucial basis for conscious political action. Unless there is awareness of the past, it is impossible to cope with the tasks of the socialist present and the communist future. Communism, this scientifically structured social order, can be built successfully only by using all national and international experiences and all insight gained up to now. For that reason it is an essential contribution to the communist education of the young generation to convey those experiences and insights in a scientifically precise, vivid and pertinent manner.¹

School children today experience socialism and are formed by it. They are getting a fine general education and are involved from early on in the revolutionary shaping of our socialist society, gathering their own political experiences thereby. The emergence of this society, however, is already a fact of history for them which they themselves have not experienced and thus must be taught to them. At the same time this involves an acquisition of knowledge about the historic obsolescence of capitalism and the danger it presents to peace and social progress. In this sense then the formation of a socialist consciousness of history is closely connected with forming the will and ability for active confrontation with imperialism.

For all these considerations, the ninth party congress requirement on perfecting the communist education of youth includes "deepening its consciousness of history and making it aware of the revolutionary traditions of the workers movement."² Socialist schools in the GDR, as political working class institutions, always have paid great attention to conveying a scientific image of history. If we are making a special point today of deepening the consciousness of history in the communist education of school children it means fully exhausting the available potentials in all fields of instruction, more effectively using the various opportunities in extracurricular education, making a more purposeful demand on the support by all social forces, but it

means above and beyond everything improving the substantive and didactic-methodological structure of history and civics teaching. In this sense then the formation of a consciousness of history becomes the business of the whole school and of all social forces.

On Forming a Consciousness of History

As any other development of consciousness so also the forming of a socialist consciousness of history is a multilayered and long lasting process. It starts in the way the individual, in an elementary and empirical manner, encounters history in his daily life, and it is molded through systematic confrontation with history in the learning process on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist science of history. Special successes are always obtainable if the instructors pick up the concrete experiences of the young people and enable them properly to integrate their own experiences with the image of history conveyed. Such personal experiences are bound to be affected by the pupils' age, their parents and other persons with whom they are in direct contact, their particular territory and special traditions. They usually are also loaded emotionally. Picking that up meaningfully in history instruction doubtless means still more strongly fostering the great interest in history our young people already have and activating it toward the solution of topical social tasks.

As this does not merely involve knowledge but always active and conscious historic action, the appropriation of the Marxist-Leninist image of history calls for a facility in the dialectic-materialist interpretation of history. And it is of the greatest importance here that every pupil becomes familiar with the concrete course of historic processes and from that vantage point learns to comprehend history as an inevitable process of development of human society from lower to higher forms. Coming to see this, not as a linear progression but as a fluctuating process of live history in which, depending on any given power ratio among classes and social strata, the progressive forces prevail at different speeds and with differences in emphasis, temporally and locally, is of special importance for understanding the tasks history has placed before contemporary generations. This sort of approach alone enables the pupils in using their own growing understanding of history more and more for an analysis and assessment of new social manifestations and for answering topical questions, whereby they will improve it further on their own and find the criteria for their individual action. Thus the development of a socialist consciousness of history turns out to be an important aspect of the communist education of youth pertaining to what today is like and what tomorrow will be.

In the process of education and their own social activities the young people acquire the ability to receive the treasure of political experiences of previous generations and to drain it. That must not be confined to a passive type of reception, it must be combined with the appropriation of the world-outlook of the working class and their own conscious and creative confrontation with the diverse and contradictory manifestations in our lives.

That also is the only way in which knowledge about what we have already achieved can eventually be combined with knowledge of what we still have to achieve and lead to relevant requirements.

A socialist consciousness of history implies clear party-mindedness on behalf of socialism, closest solidarity with the socialist fatherland, inviolable friendship with the Soviet Union and all other fraternal nations as well as with the class comrades in the capitalist countries. Pride in what we have achieved, in the accomplishments of our own class, in our own people's contribution to our world historic progress is as much part of it as the defense of the values and achievements of socialism, brought about by our work, the result of the harsh and sacrificial efforts of the workers class under Marxist-Leninist party leadership. This gives rise to the readiness and willingness to protect and defend the socialist fatherland and to the need to expand the personal active and creative contribution to establishing the communist society.

It is necessary to create the awareness that the solution of the tasks in the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR is at the same time a contribution to coping with international requirements, to advancing the revolutionary world process. What is needed today is a clear orientation on securing the peace of the world, the struggle for deepening the process of detente, and arms limitation, the main issues of international politics at present, as well as strengthening our solidarity with the peoples struggling in the anti-imperialist national liberation movement. Instilling socialist historic thought in this sense includes knowing about the development of other countries, provides an understanding of their conditions in their struggle and development, and of their habits and customs, and shapes the willingness and ability to fight against any nationalism and to take the offensive in opposing any slander and defamation of socialism. A socialist consciousness of history is an equally unequivocal challenge to imperialism, fascism and imperialist war. Teaching about the nature and causes of those phenomena always aims at shaping the ability and willingness to fight actively against imperialism. That is done through concrete and convincing unmasking of imperialist policy and ideology and of its aggressiveness and enmity to humanity in the past and in the present.

Lenin said: "One who, with regard to the history of his movement, behaves like someone who remembers nothing cannot be a class-conscious worker."³ Wholly in that sense then, socialist consciousness of history mainly is an active relationship with the doctrines and experiences of the struggle of the workers class, its revolutionary party and the progressive forces in the world against imperialism and war, for socialism and social progress. That helps our young people in getting a clearer perception for what is crucial and essential in social development, and it makes them understand social phenomena as they interrelate, in their process of development. It makes them realize that social and personal demands can be satisfied only through their own work for the good of society. Precisely this realization is indispensable for their understanding their own history-making acts. It most clearly demonstrates the active educational function of the socialist consciousness of history.

Substantive Emphases for Deepening the Socialist Consciousness of History

First: Great importance attaches to teaching and cultivating the revolutionary traditions of the working class struggle. By that we mean the lines of development extending from the past and still effective in present days, the ideas, views and operations of the struggle for fulfilling the historic mission of the working class, especially those events and processes that have emphatically accelerated historic progress. For the development of a socialist consciousness of history it is important mainly to remember those doctrines and experiences that are connected with such traditions. Teaching and cultivating revolutionary traditions above all means to us "showing the dynamics in the class conflict vividly and through ample facts and problems and in its historic significance and its connection with the fulfillment of the historic mission of the working class at the present."⁴ Cultivating the tradition thus is always a component of ideological confrontation. And that is why what primarily counts in all our political mass activities is to explain the consequences those traditions have had to coping with the tasks of the day, and to class-bound behavior and conduct. Only if we know how to work out clearly where any revolutionary traditions have their place in history, explain from those conditions the actions of the ones involved, and derive the necessary lessons from them in accordance with our up-to-date state of knowledge, will we be able to disclose the ideological-educational substance of the traditions and bring them to bear on the development of socialist consciousness.

Second: An important task in molding the socialist consciousness of history, generally significant but especially important while we are getting set for the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, lies in the thorough study of the history of our socialist German state. The founding and rise of the GDR are the greatest revolutionary deed and most important cultural achievement in the history of the German people brought about, under Marxist-Leninist party leadership, by the workers, by the people themselves. The pupils have to realize the founding of the GDR was a turning point in the history of the German people and the history of Europe. It was the most important result of the SED's Marxist-Leninist policy, achieved thanks to the Soviet Union's act of liberation and solidary assistance, the existence of the socialist world system, and the forming of unity in the working class, fulfilling its leadership role and uniting all democratic forces rallying around it.⁵

The greatest attention in the formation of the socialist consciousness of history is to be given to the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR. In this era the fruits of the decades of struggle by the revolutionary workers movement in the GDR ripened greatly, and the advantages of real socialism became most perceptible. This era teaches us important new historic experiences. It mainly makes us realize that the shaping of the developed socialist society under the conditions of the worldwide class conflict between socialism and imperialism is a hard and everyday effort full of problems and difficulties, and that we have to use all our strength to the fullest in coping with it. The history of the most recent period

has supplied us with particularly sharp weapons for a successful political-ideological contest with imperialism. Thorough study of the outline of the "History of the SED" will help, especially the history and civics teachers, and make the party struggle in establishing and consolidating the GDR as interesting and stirring to the pupils as it has actually been.

Third: Our humanistic legacy holds a firm position in the molding of the socialist consciousness of history. In all its stages of historic development, humanism is an "expression of men's self-awareness, the awareness of their strength and dignity, as well as of their striving for the perfecting of humanity and of individual personality."⁶ This striving for humanity and human dignity, going on for hundreds of years and finding itself realized in real socialism, is both our legacy and commitment. The preservation of all our humanistic legacy is a permanent commitment for us, this legacy is an inalienable possession of ours, because we feel the strength flowing into us from assuming this legacy with discrimination, and because we see ourselves as the executors of the legacy of the revolutionary peasants of 1525, of the ideals of the Enlightenment, the best ideas of the national liberation movement between 1806 and 1813, the fighters on the barricades in 1848/49, and all humanistic forces of the German Middle Class. That also includes the achievements by progressive bourgeois forces that were later gambled away or betrayed when representatives of their own class succumbed to reactionary objectives. "With a high sense of responsibility we are preserving the work of the best minds in our culture, the masters of the German language, bold thinkers, discoverers and inventors."⁷ Not for tactical considerations or for short-range topical purposes, but because of the position of principle the socialist society holds with regard to all past history, our party considers itself "the heir to everything progressive in the history of the German people."⁸

In this sense then great importance must in the future be placed on continuing the exploration of the national humanistic legacy, preserving and using it for the communist education of youth, in line with the remark contained in the 30th GDR anniversary appeal to the effect that our "socialist state embodies the continuity of all that was good, and the radical break with all that was reactionary, in German history."⁹

Fourth: The history of our home environment, of our enterprises, our residence and its surroundings assumes an ever firmer place in the Marxist-Leninist image of history because here one's own world of experience combines most directly with the general flow of history. This is where emotions take effect in particular. For example, the ideological effectiveness of history instruction is much greater in the upper grades where pupils are not only taught generally about the founding and development of the KPD, the antifascist resistance struggle, the revolutionary transformation after 1945 and the construction of our socialist state, but where they also find out who the founders of the KPD were in their home territory, who the antifascist resistance fighters were and the activists of the first hour, who enforced the democratic land reform, prepared and brought about the unification of the KPD and SPD into the SED, who founded the first LPGs, who became

an innovator in socialist production, and what the achievements were of all these personalities. It is most effective when such creditable citizens themselves speak to the young people about the emergence and growth of our state.

Especially because in studying the history of the home environment, ties can be established with the world of which the young people have their own direct experience, research in regional history, particularly when the pupils themselves engage in it, is of great importance to the cultivation of revolutionary traditions and has lasting effects on the socialist consciousness development of such young people.

Fifth: Much more use must still be made for the shaping of a socialist consciousness of history of the great ideological effect important historic personalities can have. The model effect derived from historic personalities can be explained mainly by that they most clearly represent typical, and historically necessary, characteristics. In contrast to imperialist history propaganda, which encourages interpretations that are indifferent to class differences and emphatically propagates individualistic and so-called general human traits of character, we Marxist-Leninists understand historic-political personalities always with their typical class characteristics and class attitudes. Most vividly evident in the work of outstanding representatives of the working class and its party are such characteristics as a combative advocacy of a firm class standpoint and Marxist-Leninist firmness of principle, courage, discipline, willingness for sacrifice and confidence in victory. The model effect of these personalities will be all the greater, the more we succeed in presenting them as flesh-and-blood humans with all their many personal characteristics who achieved great things in their struggle for the people's interests, as persons all youth might emulate especially in our revolutionary age.

School Tasks

The work in the schools indicates that increasing importance is attached everywhere to forming a socialist consciousness of history and that concrete measures to that end have been taken in many places. It has led to noteworthy results, if unequal ones of course in the various schools and individual pupils. What matters is that in all schools and possibly for all pupils the development and deepening of historic consciousness be pushed ahead as a crucial aspect of the communist education of youth. This gives rise to the demand--as stated initially--to conceive of the formation of historic consciousness more as a business concerning the whole school and all social forces dealing within and with it, in order to establish for our pupils a still more vivid relationship with their past and to equip them for coping with the task of the present and the future.

The essential contribution history instruction has to make to the formation of a socialist consciousness of history among all pupils lies in vividly

submitting concrete and accurate information so that the pupils will understand the concrete historic processes and the inevitabilities of social development behind them and gain a dialectical interpretation of the process of history. This simultaneously bestows an important integrative function on history instruction. It then furnishes the blueprint and the scaffold, as it were, for the appropriation of our Marxist-Leninist image of history. For any given pupil will acquire and add to his image of history over a long period by using many bits of mosaic he was taught in other subjects too and from his various ways of experiencing our historically grown social reality, from books, movies, radio, TV and other sources.

History instruction contributes to the formation of socialist convictions by providing, above all, a vivid picture of the nodal points in social development, of outstanding events and epochs in the development of mankind. That leads to deeper insights about the importance of social revolutions, the role of the people's masses and of personality in history, and the world historic nature of social forward movement. In this we will be all the more effective the better we succeed in explaining social progress as the outcome of the struggle between reactionary and progressive forces, and the inevitability of the victory of socialism and communism, as the fulfillment of the historic mission of the working class.

All experiences indicate the formation of a socialist consciousness of history mainly depends on vivid, party-minded and convincing history instruction. And here--as successful history teachers have shown--the use of materials on regional history, meaningfully integrated with the rest of the curriculum, can be very useful. That kind of history instruction the students find more interesting and attractive. It also is educationally more effective, for reference to an environment with which they are familiar, and to concrete facts, is something that will always grab them. Other reserves are to be found in a greater variety of methods and, above all, in bringing in more problems, which evokes more of an intellectual effort, more of a thinking activity, affecting their thoughts and feelings at equal measure and making them resort to, and work out, their own personal experiences and insights. History taught in this way also is particularly suitable to forming in our pupils the moral value standards of the revolutionary workers class, making them aware of the tasks of today and the goals of tomorrow, and making them seek their revolutionary solution.¹⁰

These tasks also apply to a large extent to civics instruction. Its importance to forming a socialist consciousness of history derives from the fact that, through conveying basic Marxist-Leninist knowledge, especially historical materialism, it significantly contributes to the pupils' understanding of history. Then also, history likewise belongs among the civics subjects, that is, the most recent history of our people. By furnishing our pupils with their basic information about historical materialism, confronting them with the problems and experiences in the development of the GDR, making them aware of the importance of the genesis and growth of our workers and farmers state, and forming close relations between the young and their socialist fatherland, civics exercises a function no other department can

exercise in forming this most essential aspect of historic consciousness. Greater effectiveness in civics instruction decisively depends on how well the teacher succeeds, through a vivid and problem-saturated, scientific and factual discussion, in bringing out the development and consolidation of the GDR as a revolutionary task of the broad popular masses under Marxist-Leninist party leadership, by which the pupils are challenged intellectually and emotionally affected, with which they can identify and in which they can participate.

Important as history and civics instruction is for the forming of historic consciousness, that alone cannot fulfill this all-inclusive requirement. For that, a well considered, aware and purposeful participation by the other educational disciplines is needed. Like communist education as such, the formation of the socialist consciousness of history, a component of communist education, is a transcending requirement pervading all instruction. No subject, it seems to us, is devoid of history. In some way or other history has to do with every subject. There is no phenomenon, no scientific insight and no use of any scientific insight apart from social, and thus historic, thought. Which means that when anything is taught it of necessity calls for historic integration and correlation. This is necessary, in the first place, to enable the pupils to comprehend matters and phenomena and to establish relations in ideas with what was taught before, with related and similar phenomena, with other educational disciplines and, above all, with social practice. This way all instruction affects the development of historic consciousness, and it can properly be said that very many teachers do establish these connections prudently and systematically. Yet even so, greater effectiveness in this area still seems possible to us to the extent that it will be understood how to pick up still more systematically the valuable historical insights and experiences the material contains and make them visible and perceptible to the pupils with ever greater skill. Here we find very significant potentials for every teacher for making a still more important contribution to the image of history, the understanding of history, and thus to historic consciousness.

This, however, also is the place to point out that misunderstanding this approach to coping with this requirement may lead to contrived experiments in instruction too. It is not a matter of imposing on any special subject what is alien to that subject. Nor should extra overtime be requested in teaching for taking care of this requirement. The important thing is to apply, as we have discussed, more purposefully and more consciously all the historical data potentially contained in the subject matter of instruction and in the whole educational process. That there are differences in scope and in the ways and means of the various educational disciplines should be an accepted fact. For instance, the contribution literature and geography can make will be greater than that of mathematics or physics for example. Whether or not that contribution will also be more effective is something we cannot tell. That, it seems to us, depends in particular on how the teacher picks up the specific possibilities his field offers him and introduces his pupils to them. That in turn presupposes that the teacher himself

must still get a clearer idea of this task and be able to think and proceed historically. There is every good reason to say, therefore, that more deeply forming the pupils' historic consciousness begins with a deepening of historic consciousness on the part of the teachers, with more of an ability on their part to make instruction meaningful and convincing in the manner presented here. An important aspect of advanced education for teachers should therefore be to get greater skills in this, to get suggestions for it and to exchange experiences about it. That will be all the easier, the more the pedagogical scientists, especially in the methods disciplines, turn to these problems and work out appropriate materials and devices and make them available to the teachers.

Not only through the material presented, however, can a vivid relationship with history be established, a person must himself engage in an active confrontation with history. It is therefore imperative, above and beyond history instruction, to make a more aware and consistent use of the opportunities richly offered by our socialist reality. Good experiences have been reported by many study groups of "young historians," and in setting up cabinets and corners of honor in the schools, where above all new results are time and again exhibited in the pupils' research on the personality whose name the school has adopted, or on the development of the school in the bourgeois and our socialist society. Good results have also come from the pupils' participation in the research of certain aspects in the development of their sponsorship enterprise, its working people and the most outstanding activists and innovators. The struggle for being awarded honorifics, combined with an active concern for the historical location and importance of a certain personality or event, likewise turns out to be valuable. Finally, a point should be made of the participation in the research and writing of local chronicles and the participation in exhibitions in local history. Valuable educational effects also result from taking care of memorials and funeral sites of famous representatives of the workers movement, heroes of the antifascist resistance struggle and other important patriots.

Altogether, it seems to us, we need more of a movement that collects, processes and analyzes historic materials, where the decisive matter mainly should be the political-educational value derived from this work for our young people. Here we primarily need more concrete and precise stimuli telling our pupils what they should be dealing with, in line with their qualifications, when they engage in research on the history of their home environment or in cultivating revolutionary traditions. Here, as much as in the care and consultation extended to the solution of tasks assumed, lies a great responsibility of our history teachers and all pedagogs, and of the social forces in the schools, enterprises and territories, and the assistance our party's history commissions and veterans commissions can provide for it is of special value.

FOOTNOTES

1. We confine ourselves to the questions of the development of historic consciousness in school children. For the role of consciousness of history in general, see EINHEIT, No 3, 1978.

2. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 98.
3. V. I. Lenin, "The Ideological Struggle in the Workers Movement," "Werke" (Works), Vol 20, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1971, p 278.
4. "Marxistisch-leninistisches Geschichtsbild und Weltanschauung der Arbeiterklasse" (The Marxist-Leninist Image of History and the World-Outlook of the Working Class), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1975, p 123.
5. Cf. "Geschichte der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands, Abriss" (SED History--Outline), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1978, pp 222-223.
6. SED Central Committee Karl Marx Party College, ed., "Vorzeuge des Sozialismus, 6. Heft, Der Humanismus" (Advantages of Socialism, No 6, Humanism), Berlin, 1977, p 20.
7. "Appeal for the 30th Anniversary of the Founding of the GDR," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18 November 1977.
8. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 5.
9. "Appeal . . .," loc. cit.
10. Cf. Eva Steinbrueck, "Results, Problems and Developmental Trends in History Instruction," GESCHICHTSUNTERRICHT UND STAATSBUERGERKUNDE, No 5, 1977, pp 387 f; also see Reinhold Kruppa, "Tasks and Ways in Forming a Socialist Consciousness of History," PAEDAGOGIK, No 12, 1977 pp 1071 ff.

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EAST GERMANY

WORK OF CULTURAL LEAGUE IN PROMOTING NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS DISCUSSED

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[Article by Dr Karl-Heinz Schulmeister, first secretary, Cultural League of the GDR: "Creative Cultural Work in Cities and Communities." For related information, see JPRS 71116, 15 May 78, No 1534 of this series, pp 36-55]

[Text] On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the GDR, the presidential council of the Cultural League has appealed to all culturally interested and engaged citizens to enrich the intellectual-cultural life in cities and communities. An essential aspect of cultural work in the future lies in devoting special attention to the working people's cultural creativity, to cultural amateur creativity, and in providing, through communities of interests, new opportunities for stimulating leisure time activities for more and more citizens.

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the GDR, the presidential council of the Cultural League has appealed to all culturally interested and engaged citizens to enrich the intellectual-cultural life in cities and communities. The competition programs of the Cultural League groups contain so many fine initiatives and efforts that it can already be said we will through this effort achieve another upsurge in cultural work. Many new works of art are in process. The 17th Workers Festivals, the Writers Congress in May 1978 and the Visual Artists' Congress in November 1978 constitute cultural high points. They will further enhance the creative atmosphere needed for the all round development of socialist art and culture.

A new content, provided by socialism, has been given to the concepts of fatherland and nation in our country. "As patriots we protect and defend the national dignity of our socialist fatherland while we are at the same time consistent proletarian internationalists." "Patriotism and internationalism exist in unity in our ideology and policy,"¹ Comrade Erich

Honecker said in his speech to the kreis first secretaries. The working class party and the Cultural League with it may point with pride to that unison.

The creators of culture and intellectuals, and the Cultural League along with them, have a significant part in that the socialist national consciousness of our country's citizens is marked by the unity of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Generations of Germans are growing up today in the GDR--in socialist Germany--for the first time in the spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity, brought up in the spirit of friendship and cooperation with nations, free from nationalism and chauvinism, from revanchism and contempt for other nations. This is something new in German history, unprecedented, an elemental historic achievement.

Under the leadership by the working class party and in alliance with all progressive forces, with the liberation of the German people from fascism in 1945, the historic chance for the spiritual rebirth of our people was used, and a fundamental change in German history was thereby brought about. The rich legacy of the national and international workers movement, the important traditions of humanism and classicism, and the progressive achievement of world culture were brought to bear on this revolutionary struggle, this renaissance. Mindless fascism and militarism had to be banned forever from the life of our people. All reactionary ideologies and inhumane conceptions of culture had to be uprooted totally. Carrying out our reconstruction under the aegis of triumphant socialist humanism was--as Comrade Kurt Hager recalled at the Ninth Cultural League Congress--"a difficult task undertaken by the Cultural League on the side of our party. A relatively small circle of socialist artists and humanistic intellectuals came together at that time in the Cultural League."² Authors Johannes R. Becher and Willi Bredel, Alexander Abusch and Friedrich Wolf, Bernhard Kellermann and Arnold Zweig, literary and art critics Fritz Erpenbeck, Paul Wiegler and Herbert Ihering, artists Otto Nagel, Wolfgang Langhoff, Paul Wegener, Eduard von Winterstein, Karl-Hein Martin, Ernst Legal and Max Burghardt, scientists Prof Dr Johannes Stroux and Prof Dr Theodor Brugsch, Prof Dr Alfred Meusel and Prof Dr Hans Heinrich Franck, composers Hanns Eisler and Ernst Hermann Meyer and many other progressive intellectuals, together with Anton Ackermann, Klaus Gysi, Paul Wandel, Erich Wendt, Otto Winzer, Heinz Willmann and others, decided what the Cultural League should do and from the outset set the tone for this new kind of cultural organization.

This success in our enormous work of reconstruction, this transformation of German people after 1945, this education of our people in the spirit of humanism and democracy, peace and socialism, this renaissance, this formation of the socialist nation and of a GDR national consciousness is one of the greatest cultural achievements in the history of the German people. The formation and consolidation of the GDR, our socialist fatherland, is the culmination of the revolutionary struggle of the German workers movement and all progressive forces of our people and the outcome of the SED's proven alliance policy.

Promotion of Literature and Art by the Cultural League

Socialist national consciousness and socialist national culture had begun to form not just in 1945 but before, during the bitter class struggles in our century against imperialism and fascism, militarism and war. The forming of a new, humanistic and socialist German nation had been promoted by the communist and antifascist poets and artists, by their works representing all the positive traditions and values in our culture. Johannes R. Becher said about that: "The greatness of our literature from the very outset consisted in that we wanted the upheavals that could predispose Germany for classical works, and that we not only desired these upheavals but took an active part in preparing for them, took part in it with heart and soul. That above all constitutes the greatness of our literature."³ And this did not apply only to literature, it also applied to the other fields of art like theater, the visual arts and music.

The representatives of the progressive intelligentsia who were closely allied with the working class party had recognized their responsibility as heralds and pioneers of the new, the socialist age. They wanted the humanistic and socialist culture to become a spiritual force, a power for peace in a German democratic republic. It was clear to Johannes R. Becher and many of his fellow combatants that the development of a socialist national culture, the "rebirth of a national literature from the spirit of socialism," had to come. Becher himself called attention to that the "first forms of rebirth of a German national literature" came about "in the land of socialism"--the Soviet Union--and that this had not happened by chance, but that in the climate of growth of an international culture of socialism the great daring of developing the German socialist culture had been attempted in the "correct anticipation that this is the place for the first efforts on behalf of reforming our literature."⁴ And in other countries the representatives of the new, antifascist and socialist, Germany struggled too. They worked in cultural organizations and on journals in exile from Moscow to Mexico, Prague to London, Zurich to New York and in many other cities in the world. They defended the dignity of German culture, preserved the humanistic cultural legacy of humanity and dedicated themselves to a higher development of culture. They were German patriots, pioneers of a future socialist German nation and, at the same time, ardent champions of proletarian internationalism. What they stood for was the dialectical unity of internationalism and patriotism.

The credit is partly due to the Cultural League that this antifascist-democratic, socialist literature and art, generated in the struggle against imperialism, prevailed after 1945 and became the foundation for socialist national culture. In thousands of events, through the indefatigable work of the literary and artists' communities of interests and circles of friends in the Cultural League, through the passionate dedication of communist and humanistic artists and many cultural propagandists, it took only a short time for this socialist literature and art to become widespread. The treasures of our humanistic cultural legacy, the cultural achievements of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, and antifascist art have been and are the sources for the further development of our socialist culture.

In the three decades of successful cultural development behind us, many important socialist-realist works of art were born that are giving voice to the life of our people, the ideals of the working class and the struggles of our times. These are works of our socialist national culture which have much to reveal about the creative spirit of our citizens and their loyalty to the socialist ideas and provide the growing generations with important historic lessons and impulses. It is the business of the Cultural League to continue in the future in assisting in the creation of new works of socialist realist art. They help our people perceive the greatness and certitude of the future in the world of socialism. They stimulate new creativity and help form the socialist way of life and communist ideals. The Cultural League will steadily further develop its literature and art propaganda activity and will, in particular, promote and conduct art discussions. The Cultural League will see to it that a spiritual climate rules in the cities and communities where the achievements of the artists are promulgated and appreciated and the relations between artists and working people become increasingly closer. The Cultural League helps create the preconditions for artistic life to develop conforming to the growing demands in the shaping of the developed socialist society, in literature, the visual arts, music, theater, movies and TV, photography and all genres of entertainment.

Our Cultural Legacy--Source of Socialist National Consciousness

At the First Union Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934, Johannes R. Becher said: "The cause of classical German culture, of classic thought and classic poetry, the lofty legacy of centuries, is going to be handed over for good to those who hold the future in their hands, the German workers. They alone, engaged in the heroic struggle for the liberation, and thus for the future, of Germany as such, will know how to explore, rework, critically illuminate this cultural legacy they love, make it serviceable to their new and greater class goals and build it into the building of the coming culture of socialism." The triumph of the cause of the working class was "the sole guarantee for reconstituting and further developing what was best in the cultural legacy of the centuries."⁵

Half a century later we may say with justified pride the course of historic development has fully confirmed that prediction. As in 1917 the Great Socialist October Revolution became the rebirth of everything great in the past of the peoples of the Soviet Union, so likewise the liberation of our people in 1945 and the founding of our workers and farmers state in 1949 stood under the aegis of a renaissance of Goethe, Heine and many other great humanists. At the First Central Cultural Conference of the KPD in 1946, Wilhelm Pieck reminded us that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels had drawn stimulation and strength, knowledge and counsel from our rich legacy for their theoretical work as well as their hard everyday struggle. The extensive study of our legacy of philosophy and the sciences, of culture and the arts, Wilhelm Pieck said, had helped protect the workers movement "from the dangers of narrow-mindedness and from confining itself to topical political matters, providing its leaders and representatives with the genuine national sentiment, joy in responsibility and worldwide horizon which distinguished all our classical authors."⁶

That was the spirit of the new beginning. Our humanist legacy continues to be a source of strength in our carrying on our socialist cultural revolution. There is a remarkable continuity in our cultivating our legacy, from the Goethe Year of 1949 all the way to the Beethoven and Kleist anniversaries in 1977--and not only when there are anniversary dates or years but in our everyday as well! Successes have been achieved that increased the respect for our state and in the end helped shape the national pride in being a citizen of the GDR, a citizen in the state of the socialist German nation.

Much of what constituted contemporary socialist art 30 years ago has now become the most valuable part of the socialist cultural tradition. For that reason the Cultural League will mainly publicize that part of our legacy that testifies to the growth of the GDR itself and celebrate this year in particular the work and activities of Bertolt Brecht, Erich Weinert, Hanns Eisler, Friedrich Wolf, Johannes R. Becher and Max Burghardt on the occasion of their days of commemoration, whereby to foster our socialist national consciousness. The Cultural League always seeks to submit to the young generation the great humanists' works of art and political insights, wrested at so dear a price, and regards this as one of its most important tasks for the future. For over three decades it has successfully been making the humanistic legacy serviceable to our socialist cultural development by providing the people with access to it.

The development of socialist personalities and their way of life would be impossible without a creative appropriation of our cultural legacy. For that reason the Cultural League resolutely advocates that more and more working people appropriate the wealth of the humanistic cultural accomplishments of humanity. It considers it a formidable task to go on and contribute to ideological education and the further deepening of the historic and national consciousness of the citizens in our republic by disseminating our progressive legacy.

The Cultural League--A Force in Cultural Policy

The Cultural League is among the political mass organizations in our society that are playing an important role in consolidating the state and in the formation of the socialist national culture and the further development of socialist democracy. It holds a place of respect in our republic and is being appreciated by all the parties and organizations that are united in the National Front, working with them for the political-moral unity of the people by making its specific contribution as a cultural and alliance organization. This was demonstrated once again at the Ninth Cultural League Congress in Berlin in September 1977. It found great public response and confirmed that the activities of the Cultural League are increasing in importance in the implementation of the Ninth SED Congress resolutions and in continuing our socialist cultural revolution.

The work of the Cultural League proceeds under the signature of the intelligentsia with its declared allegiance to our workers and farmers state and to the proven SED alliance policy. This alliance between the working class

and the intelligentsia has by now been operating for several generations. This alliance policy has always been and is a basic principle in the policy of the revolutionary party and of scientific socialism. This alliance has proven its vitality throughout the workers movement's decades of struggle and the more than three decades of successful SED policy. This alliance is a historic achievement, a basis of our state power, and has long constitutionally been vested in the GDR Constitution. Forces hostile to us are put on notice that no one will succeed in driving a wedge between the intelligentsia and the working class, between the artists and the working class party and our state power. That has been a hopeless endeavor and will remain one in the future--as proven by our history. "This alliance is indestructible. For it exists in the interest of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, which could not completely fulfill its historic mission without this alliance. And it also is in the interest of the artists. For a higher development of culture and art would be inconceivable without this alliance with the most progressive social force, the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party."⁷ This proven alliance with all humanistically oriented creators of culture who are loyally affiliated with our republic is what the Cultural League will promote in every way for, as Erich Honecker put it at the ninth party congress, it is "a decisive source of strength for implementing those great goals we have assigned to ourselves in our new program for the further development of our economic and social policy, for science, culture and education and for all other domains of public life."⁸

Continuing this proven alliance policy means to the Cultural League today still making stronger the socialist contours of the intelligentsia, whereby to foster the rapprochement between the working class and the intelligentsia on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook. Alliance policy today means in the work of the Cultural League forming a spiritual-cultural life everywhere that conforms in content and form to the demands of our socialist way of life. Alliance policy means to the Cultural League today turning more and more representatives of the young intelligentsia into agents and participants of the cultural life in the cities and communities and involving them in this great and beautiful task.

The first generation of the socialist intelligentsia paved the way to this alliance, the way of development for our socialist national culture, of forming the socialist German nation and of cooperating with the countries of the socialist community of states.

A socialist intelligentsia has meanwhile come from the daughters and sons of the workers and farmers. The baton in this relay in socialist humanism has been and is being handed on from positions secured by the elders to the young intellectuals. The Cultural League, through its local chapters and mainly through its clubs of intellectuals, will promote ideological conversations and exchange of opinion about topical intellectual questions of our times and, in particular, bring together the various professional groups of the intelligentsia and the working people for interdisciplinary discussions of the problems of our social development.

The socialist intelligentsia exercises a shared responsibility on all state and social bodies like the Council of State, the People's Chamber, the National Council of the National Front, on the research council and many other advisory councils of the ministries. It was novel also and reflected our consistent alliance policy for the intellectuals to receive for the first time in history their own parliamentary representation in form of the fraction of the Cultural League in the supreme assembly of the workers and farmers state, whereby the intelligentsia also takes an active part in government. This makes the Cultural League itself a part of the power of our socialist state.

Outstanding representatives of science and culture take part in the exercise of power as Culture League deputies to the People's Chamber, the bezirk and kreis assemblies and the local people's representations. It is an accepted fact that the Cultural League, as a socialist cultural organization, bears a great coresponsibility for the implementation of the GDR's socialist cultural policy. The culture commission of the People's Chamber, for instance, has functioned for almost 30 years under the direction of Culture League deputies. It also makes sense that the Cultural League is especially concerned with and committed to matters of communal cultural policy in the cities and communities. It takes part in the management and planning of cultural development and helps implement the cultural policy tasks on a communal level. It supports, for example, the state organs in the preservation, maintenance and use of the monuments of history, the arts, technology and science, nature and the man-made environment.

In working out concepts, laws and resolutions as well as in the practical, everyday work of culture, the Cultural League acts as a social partner of the state organs. This work of cooperation has proven itself. It has borne rich fruit and has to become still closer in the future. In terms of the further development of socialist democracy, the Cultural League will do everything for strengthening this cooperation with the state organs in order to involve more and more expert citizens in the preparation and implementation of government decisions and tasks.

The Cultural League not only promotes actively the formation and further development of socialist culture, it at the same time embodies a political force for helping advance the construction of socialist society all around. It takes a position on all basic and vital questions in our social development and so do, along with it, the representatives of our country's creators of culture. The intellectuals' participation in government organs and social management bodies strengthens the intellectuals' confidence in the policy of the workers and farmers state. Our state's development is their work too. And this fact also causes the ever more strongly evident GDR national consciousness on the part of the socialist intelligentsia in our country.

The Cultural Creativity of the Working People

A new period in the activities of the Cultural League was initiated with the ninth congress and the adoption of the basic tasks.⁹ These basic

program tasks reflect its agreement with the working class party's Marxist-Leninist conception of culture, mark the place occupied by the Cultural League in the developed socialist society and, at the same time, explain its growing role and prospects. All the basic processes and tasks are referred to in this new cultural policy program that arise for the Cultural League from the smooth continuation of the socialist cultural revolution. "The Cultural League devotes its attention to all aspects of culture: the culture of work and of the environment, the promotion of science, technology and education, the preservation and appropriation of our progressive legacy, the development of socialist realist art, the culture in interhuman relations, in language, habits, mores and customs, and the development of nature and the home environment and of the cities and communities. It finds its essential task in fostering the working people's creativity."¹⁰ The Cultural League sees to it that life in socialism becomes ever more cultured, that the rich treasures of culture, science and technology, art and literature, nature and the home environment are made accessible to all the people and more and more working people are induced by our organization to participating actively in intellectual life and cultural creation.

In the course of the cultural revolution the Cultural League itself has gone through an important change. From an antifascist-democratic organization of the humanistic intellectuals it has turned into a comprehensive socialist cultural organization. In this regard it was able to make significant progress especially in recent years as a socialist mass organization for culturally active and interested citizens. With increasing success it is calling on all citizens in our republic, the workers, cooperative farmers and, particularly, the creators of culture and intellectuals, inducing them to engage in various intellectual-cultural activities and to taking part in making our life rich in culture.

Today the Cultural League has more than 209,000 members. Of them, 60,000 are members of the intelligentsia and 40,000 are workers. Approximately 30,000 belong to the young generation, up to 30 years in age. The gratifying increase in the proportion of workers as well as cooperative farmers in the life of the Cultural League principally comes through their participation in communities of interests and specialists groups. Basic units exist in 1,672 cities and communities. The Cultural League has as many as 7,000 communities of interests and working associations, groups of friends, specialists groups and circles. The field of activities extends to the arts like literature, visual and applied art, music, theater, film and photography, to social science subjects like primitive and ancient history, the upkeep of monuments, local and regional history, cultural history, folklore, bibliophilism and library science, numismatics, philately, nature and environmental study and Esperanto, and to natural science fields like botany, dendrology, ornithology, entomology, the study of aquaria and terraria, minerology, astronomy and others.

In 1977 the Cultural League sponsored approximately 80,000 events that were attended by 5 million citizens. That means 200 events per day with 13,700 persons participating in them. Considering that the Cultural League has only a small staff of full-time personnel and that most of the work is done by thousands of volunteers, it certainly speaks well for the achievement and cultural policy impact of our organization.

Our members are indulging their various interests and inclinations with love, assiduity and utmost care. In many groups of specialists, intellectuals are working together with workers, employees and cooperative farmers, and pensioners with young people. Identical interests in the same subjects--such as love for the arts or for the socialist home--affiliate them, bring them together. Thus even outside the vocational sphere, the classes and strata are practically engaged in joint activities and the alliance is being strengthened. Our president, Prof Dr Hans Pischner, director of the German State Opera in Berlin, stated at the ninth congress that we highly appreciated the achievements of our friends in all fields of interest. "We regard the achievements of all as achievements enhancing the respect for our whole Cultural League, regardless of whether they work in the natural sciences, national culture or the arts or their favorite leisure time activity is history, our legacy and the social sciences, photography or philately, or their special attention is devoted to the study of aquaria or terraria, cactuses or orchids."¹¹

An essential aspect of cultural work in the future lies in devoting special attention to the working people's cultural creativity, to cultural amateur creativity, and in providing, through communities of interests, new opportunities for stimulating leisure time activities for more and more citizens. Thereby our organization will meet a demand of the Ninth SED Congress and of the Ninth Cultural League Congress, where it was stated that the working people's cultural interests and inclinations grew more and more extensively and diversely in socialism and their demands were steadily increasing.

A main trend in the socialist cultural work of the Cultural League therefore lies in more strongly still promoting intellectual and amateur creativity. Everywhere our members are challenged as creative personalities and used in good new activities, in their active participation, for example, in the more than 400 historical study groups dedicated particularly to the research, presentation and dissemination of the history of the local workers movement, local and regional history, or primitive and ancient history, or in their participating in the art discussions in the "small galleries," of which by now there are as many as 200, or in their participation in the drafting of an environmental law and the law on natural preservation or in putting together environmental exhibits. These efforts jointly undertaken with the state organs, this mode of taking part in planning, projects and government makes socialist democracy develop further in cultural activities too. It promotes the well-being of our citizens, their feeling comfortable in our state, and it further deepens their solidarity with their homeland, their socialist fatherland. So the Cultural League helps shape the socialist way

of life and helps open up the rich opportunities for meaningful leisure time activities with their spiritual gain and pleasure for the individual and their use to society. This work properly deserves broad support and assistance by the party leadership and organizations as well as the comrades' active participation.

It may be said with pride that the creators of culture and the intellectuals in our country, with dedication and energy, creativity and pleasure, will make a worthy contribution to the 30th anniversary of the GDR, whereby our socialist national culture will blossom forth and the socialist national culture of the GDR will be further strengthened.

FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Honecker, "The Party's Tasks in the Further Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Decisions," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18/19 February 1978.
2. Kurt Hager, "Creative Achievements in Culture and Art," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 23 September 1977.
3. Johannes R. Becher, "Ueber Literatur und Kunst" (On Literature and Art), Aufbau Verlag, Berlin, 1962, p 83.
4. Ibid., p 94.
5. Ibid., pp 194-195.
6. Wilhelm Pieck, "Um die Erneuerung der deutschen Kultur" (German Cultural Renaissance), "Reden und Aufsätze" (Speeches and Essays), Vol 2, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1952, p 45.
7. Kurt Hager, op. cit.
8. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 91.
9. Cf. Comrade Kurt Hager, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 7. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the Seventh SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1977, p 41.
10. "Basic Tasks of the Cultural League of the GDR," SONNTAG, No 43, 1977, p 8.
11. Cultural League of the GDR, ed., "Lebensweise und Kultur in der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft" (The Way of Life and Culture in the Developed Socialist Society), Berlin, 1977, p 16.

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CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 33 No 6, Jun 78 signed to press 11 May 78,
"For Documentation" addendum

Formation of Revolutionary Vanguard Parties in Mozambique and Angola

[Summary of article by Dr Wolfgang Semmler, political researcher, SED Central Committee; pp 577-583]

[Text] What creates the need and possibility for Marxist-Leninist vanguard parties forming in those developing countries where elements of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie control the class structure and the working class is only beginning to form into a social force? The article shows, by using Mozambique and Angola as examples, that the forming of such parties is a contradictory process connected with the advance of the people's democratic revolution in those countries, the results of which are decisively determined by the political strength and awareness of the working class.

Problems of the Struggle of the Developing Countries for a New International Economic Order

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Lutz Maier, deputy director, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 584-592]

[Text] The article shows the economic gap between the developing countries and the capitalist states continues to deepen, and it deals with the main demands of the developing countries which are of a general democratic, anti-imperialist character and essentially amount to an interference with the effect of the capitalist inevitabilities. The tactic of the imperialist states is presented and it is being shown how crucial the current international power ratio and the collaboration with the socialist states are to this struggle in the developing countries.

Ethiopia on Revolutionary Path

[Summary of article by Dr Egon Dummer, lecturer, Institute for the International Workers Movement, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 593-598]

[Text] Molded by what is essential in our era, one of the most penetrating revolutions in Africa is taking place in Ethiopia. Important foundations for the country's revolutionary transformation were laid by the fulfillment of the program for the national-democratic revolution in Ethiopia. Further repressing the counterrevolution and eliminating the heavy legacy of the feudal monarchy are tasks that will still call for great efforts. They are to be solved, however, by a broad involvement of the masses and by creating a solid Marxist-Leninist party.

The Constitution of the USSR--Charter of Socialist Humanism

[Summary of article by Dr Tord Riemann, university instructor, Department of Jurisprudence, Humboldt University, East Berlin; pp 603-610]

[Text] A few months after the USSR Constitution was adopted, the mobilizing strength emitted by it can be felt in the life of the Soviet people. For it has worked out, and assures, basic and human rights of socialist quality, rights and freedoms enabling an individual to develop his capacities and capabilities and use them for his own good and the good of all. What characterizes these rights, why are they real, how has the right to work and to democratic participation and codetermination been formulated? And how are these rights guaranteed?

Political-Ideological Work and Increasing our Economic Strength

[Summary of article by Carl-Heinz Janson, graduate economist, department chief, SED Central Committee; pp 619-622]

[Text] What prerequisites must there be, and which still have to be created, in order to turn more strongly yet into a general norm examples of a communist attitude in everyday life like that of Comrade Helmut Ermisch and his brigade? Our successful development does not proceed automatically, but one of the conditions on which it is based is effective political-ideological work which more and more shapes socialist consciousness. Our secure material premises, in which we can take pride, must be used still more effectively by means of new acts of labor and with high achievements in socialist competition.

Combines--Modern Form for Managing Our Industry

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Gerd Friedrich, deputy director, Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED Central Committee; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; chairman, Council for Questions of Managing the Economy; pp 623-630. A translation of this article will be published in JPRS TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE Economic and Industrial Affairs]

[Text] Combines have proven themselves as a modern form of socialist industrial management, capable of bringing the advantages of socialized large-scale socialist production most effectively to realization. Economically combining crucial phases in the reproduction process in the combines opens up basically new possibilities for greater effectiveness. For making full use of these possibilities, experiences made in well functioning, directly subordinated combines are analyzed and generalized.

5885

CSO: 2300

STATUTE SPECIFIES DUTIES, RESPONSIBILITIES OF OFFICE FOR INVENTIONS, PATENTS

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German
Part I No 18, 7 Jul 78 pp 217-220

[Statute of the Office for Inventions and Patents in accordance with the resolution of the Council of Ministers of 15 June 1978, signed by Willi Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers, East Berlin]

[Text]

Article 1

(1) The Office for Inventions and Patents (hereinafter designated office) is the organ of the Council of Ministers for the management of patents, samples and trademarks, the promotion of inventors and the innovator movement. It carries out its functions in implementation of the resolutions adopted by the party of the working class on the basis of the Constitution of the German Democratic Republic, the laws and other legal regulations.

(2) The chief function of the office is the

- Development of the creative initiative of inventors and innovators, the steady improvement in the standard of inventions and innovations as well as their comprehensive use in the economy
- Steady improvement in the efficiency of patent, sample and trademark administration as well as the protection of proprietary rights
- Development of efficient patent information and documentation consonant with the requirements of scientific-technological progress
- Implementation of state testing procedures for inventions, industrial samples and trademarks.

(3) The office directs the work of state and economy managing organs to the effect that patents, samples and trademarks, the work inventors and the innovator movement may provide an effective contribution to the further improvement of the material and cultural standard of living for the people on the basis of the greatest possible speed of development for socialist production, the

steady improvement of efficiency, scientific-technological progress and the growth of productivity in the economy.

(4) The office is responsible for analyzing the standard and economic efficiency of patents, samples and trademarks, the work of inventors and the innovator movement. It subsequently arrives at conclusions for its own work and that of other state organs, implements state requirements in this field, prepares the necessary decisions for the Council of Ministers and supervises the implementation of these decisions.

The office is responsible for the further development of the law in the field of patents, samples and trademarks, the work of inventors and the innovator movement. It analyzes the implementation of the law and influences the uniform application and best possible efficacy of the law.

Article 2

(1) When carrying out its functions the office closely cooperates with the Ministry for Science and Technology, the Standardization, Measurement and Commodity Testing Office, the Office for Industrial Design and other state organs. It coordinates and assists the measures of central state organs for the development of the patent, sample and trademark system, the work of inventors and the innovator movement and, in cooperation with the central state organs, initiates analyses and appraisals. The office carries out its duties in the field of inventors work and the innovator movement in close cooperation with the social organizations, especially the labor unions, the Chamber of Technology and the Free German Youth.

(2) The office assists politico-ideological work in the field of inventors work, the innovator movement and proprietary rights by the appropriate publicity. In so doing it closely cooperates with the social organizations. It provides information and data so as to propagate in the mass media the most progressive experiences of enterprises and facilities.

Article 3

(1) In cooperation with the central state organs the office encourages the all-round development of inventors work. In so doing it focuses on the necessity

-- For inventors work to be directed primarily to the key issues of scientific-technological progress and oriented to challenging goals of the plans science and technology

-- For providing effective aid to inventors in the preparation of patent applications

-- For ensuring the rapid and comprehensive utilization of inventions, and

-- For morally and financially stimulating the creative achievements of inventors.

(2) Within the scope of its responsibility for the development of inventors work the office contributes to the perfection of state management and planning of science and technology and cooperates in the preparation of the state plan science and technology as well as the supervision of its implementation.

(3) In its cooperation in the preparation and supervision of assignments of the plan science and technology the office focuses especially on ensuring the highest possible yield of inventions. To do so it appraises the economic goals of research and development tasks relative to the level of inventiveness aimed at, proposes the appropriate measures for its improvement, exercises supervision of the implementation of planned goals for inventors and analyzes the development and efficiency of inventors work.

(4) The office submits to the competent central state organs proposals for the comprehensive use of inventions of particular importance to the economy. It supervises the implementation of measures required for the utilization of these inventions.

(5) The office is responsible for preparing the decisions relative to the central state appreciation of outstanding inventor achievements. It encourages the popularization of exemplary achievements in the development of inventors work.

Article 4

(1) In the development of the innovator movement and in close cooperation with the Free German Labor Union Federation the office focuses on the improvement of the economic and social efficacy of the innovator movement, especially the

-- Planned development of the creative initiative of innovators in the socialist competition, their orientation to the accomplishment of key tasks concerning intensification, in harmony with the steady improvement of working and living conditions

-- Development of socialist cooperation between workers and members of the intelligentsia for the steady improvement of the technical-economic standard of innovations and the contribution of the innovator movement to the all-round development of the personality

-- Rapid and comprehensive use of innovations.

(2) The office morally and financially rewards exemplary achievements in the development of the innovator movement and ensures their popularization.

(3) In cooperation with the other central state organs and the social organizations the office encourages the development of innovator activities among

young people, especially within the scope of the Movement of the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow.

(4) Together with the Ministry for District Managed Industry and Foodstuffs Industry the office directs the work of the bezirk innovator centers.

Article 5

(1) In the matter of its directing, coordinating and supervisory work for the steady improvement of the efficiency of proprietary right enforcement the office focuses on the

- Comprehensive use of patent information in the course of scientific-technological work
- Enforcement of the necessary measures for ensuring the legal protection of inventions, industrial design and trademarks in the GDR and other countries
- Assurance of the absence of title defects in scientific-technological results, products and processes
- Assurance of the best possible standard of proprietary rights within the scope of international scientific-technological and production cooperation
- Assurance of order and security as well as the necessary secrecy in the field of proprietary rights work.

(2) The office ensures the observance of state interests in the application for proprietary rights and other legal actions related to proprietary rights in other countries. It analyzes the applications of enterprises, combines and facilities in other countries and submits to the competent central state organs conclusions for the management and planning of work on proprietary rights.

Article 6

(1) The office is responsible for the state testing of inventions, industrial samples and trademarks; it issues state protective documents for inventions, industrial samples and trademarks.

(2) On the basis of the patent applications received, the office analyzes the technical-economic standard and the economic significance of the inventions. It is authorized to ask state and economy managing organs, combines, enterprises and facilities to provide free expert opinions on the economic significance as well as the potential utilization and conditions for the use of the inventions.

(3) On the basis of the applications for the protection of industrial samples the office analyzes the activity relative to applications as well as the quality of industrial samples. On the basis of the applications for the protection of trademarks it analyzes the efficacy of trademarks. The office is authorized to supervise the implementation of the duty to register trademarks for products.

Article 7

(1) In cooperation with the other central state organs the office is responsible for developing patent information and documentation consonant with economic requirements. It coordinates and supervises the work of the industry specific and regional information facilities in the field of patent information and documentation, ensures their integration in the scientific-technological information of the GDR and, in the discharge of this task, cooperates with the competent state organs and facilities, especially the GDR Central Institute for Information and Documentation.

(2) The office ensures the regular availability of data on scientific-technological proprietary rights of the GDR and other countries for enterprises, combines and facilities. It guarantees the efficiency of the GDR Central Patent Library.

(3) The office conducts searches of patent literature on behalf of state and economy managing organs, combines, enterprises and facilities.

(4) The office ensures information and documentation concerning trademarks and industrial samples protected in the GDR and other selected countries.

Article 8

(1) In the fields of patents, samples and trademarks, inventions, the innovator movement and patent information the office represents the GDR

-- In the respective CEMA organs

-- In international organizations and their working departments

-- Vis-a-vis national organs and facilities of other countries, which are working in these fields.

(2) The office is responsible for the accomplishment of GDR assignments for the promotion and deepening of cooperation of the CEMA member countries in the field of patents, samples and trademarks, inventions, the innovator movement and patent information, insofar as these assignments arise from the Complex Program of socialist economic integration of the CEMA member countries and the decisions and resolutions of CEMA organs.

(3) In coordination with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Minister for Science and Technology and the heads of other competent central state organs

the office is responsible for concluding departmental agreements as well as preparing the conclusion of other international treaties in the field of patents, samples, trademarks, inventions, the innovator movement and patent information.

Article 9

(1) Following its analytical work the office submits to the appropriate central state organs proposals on improving the efficiency of the office for proprietary rights and the offices for the innovator movement at the state and economy organs, combines, enterprises and facilities.

(2) The office assists the Ministry for University and Technical School Matters and the state and social educational facilities in deciding the requirements for training and further education in the field of patents, samples and trademarks, inventors work and the innovator movement.

Article 10

(1) The office is managed by the president as per the principle of one-man management coupled with the collective discussion of fundamental matters. The president is personally responsible to the Council of Ministers for the entire operation of the office. He informs the Council of Ministers and its organs on significant problems arising in the scope of the office.

(2) Within the scope of the office's competence the president issues orders and implementing regulations. He publishes directives serving to guide state and economy managing organs, combines and facilities in the field of patents, samples and trademarks, inventors work, the innovator movement and patent information. To be agreed with the president are

-- Legal regulations settling matters concerning patents, samples and trademarks, inventors work, the innovator movement and patent information

-- Industry specific basic regulations in the field of patents, samples and trademarks, inventors work, the innovator movement and patent information

as issued by ministers and heads of other central state organs.

Article 11

(1) The president makes the decisions necessary for the management and planning of the office's operations within the scope of the rights and duties assigned him; he ensures the necessary cooperation and coordination with other central state organs. He safeguards the consistent implementation of social laws and the observance of socialist legality.

(2) In his scope the president guarantees the planned improvement of working and living conditions and is responsible for the observance of the greatest possible state discipline, order, security and secrecy.

(3) In his scope the president is responsible for the exact accomplishment of all measures to safeguard national defense, including civil defense, and all other duties arising from the laws and other regulations as well as the decisions of the authorized organs for national defense, internal security and order.

Article 12

(1) The president is responsible for the rational organization of management and administration in his scope and for the steady perfection of work in this field, using the findings of management science.

(2) The president is responsible for the instruction and supervision of managers and regularly calls them to account. The president is authorized to instruct the managers and staff of the office.

(3) The president is responsible for the selection, development, education, qualification and employment of the office's cadres consonant with the leading role of the working class, and also for the establishment of the cadre reserve. He is the disciplinary superior of the managers and staff. He decides appointments to specific jobs as per the cadre nomenclature of the office.

(4) The council is the advisory organ for the president. It assists the president in fundamental problems of the development of patents, samples, trade marks, inventors work and the innovator movement. The council's duties and the method of operation are decided by the president.

Article 13

(1) In the discharge of his responsibilities the president is assisted by vice presidents.

(2) To handle its assignments the office is divided into chief departments and departments. The Council of Ministers confirms the basic structure and table of organization of the office.

(3) The president decides the responsibility of the vice presidents, the duties of the structural units, the method of their cooperation as well as the responsibilities of their managers and staffs, and issues the appropriate working schedule and function plans for the office.

(4) Testing and search offices, tribunals and arbitration bodies serve to implement the proceedings before the office as determined in legal regulations. The president of the office decides their composition.

(5) The office has a senate. This is to ensure the standardization of the application of the law by the testing and search offices, tribunals and arbitration bodies in the course of proceedings before the office.

(6) The office issues notices and bulletins. It publishes technical periodicals relating to its field.

Article 14

(1) The office is a legal entity and budgetary organization. It is domiciled in Berlin, the GDR capital.

(2) In legal matters the president represents the office. The vice presidents are authorized to represent the office within the scope of their responsibilities.

(3) Staff of the office or other persons may represent the office within the scope of authorizations issued in writing by the president.

Article 15

(1) This statute takes effect upon publication.

(2) Losing effect at the same time is the Decree of 31 July 1963 on the Statute of the Office for Inventions and Patents of the German Democratic Republic (GBL II No 68 p 547).

11698

CSO: 2306

REAR SERVICES TRAINING AT 'ERNST THAELMAN' OFFICER SCHOOL DISCUSSED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 4, Jun 78 signed to press 9 May 78
pp 172-173

[Article by Col K. Grund, military scientist, commander, Rear Services Department, Ernst Thaelman Officer School]

[Text] The main task of the rear services is the uninterrupted punctual and complete rear area security of the troops. This means the supply of all units, components and formations, in garrison service as well as in combat, with all the material means necessary for life and combat, the assurance of medical services for all personnel and of medical treatment for the injured, and the organization of supply and evacuation of materials and the maintenance and repair of equipment.

Because the troops are receiving to an increasing degree ever more modern technical combat equipment and command systems, and because the methods of modern combat are becoming ever more perfect, the rear services have to solve increasingly extensive and complicated problems.

Considering the Rear Services Department at the "Ernst Thaelman Ground Forces Officer School is training rear service officers in two practical categories:

"Officer for Rear Area Security" and "Officer for Medical Security." Rear service officers can be employed in the following fields:

- as officers for rear area security in an MSB/PB [Motorized Battalion/Tank Battalion],
- in fuel and lubrication services,
- in food supply services,
- in clothing and equipment services,
- in sectors of the medical services as officers for medical security.

In the course of their training, officer candidates are receiving a comprehensive and practice-related and social science-oriented education. They obtain theoretical and practical knowledge in the fields of mathematics, natural science and foreign language in addition to extensive basic military and military-technical knowledge.

Solid knowledge in the social, military, natural and technical sciences in conjunction with practical knowledge of party decisions and directives are essential conditions for high achievement in specialized tactical and practical training, and for enduring success in the leadership of military collectives.

Proceeding from the theoretical and practical knowledge gained in preliminary training subjects, the specialized practical training during the officer career-related stage will then attempt to apply, strengthen and deepen this preliminary knowledge. The purpose of all this is to prepare officer candidates:

- to organize and lead, under garrison as well as combat conditions, rear service units or one particular rear service within a troop unit,
- to manage the processes of material or medical security according to respective needs,
- to solve problems in the education and training of rear services personnel within troop units, and
- to employ and maintain, according to respective needs, the systems of the POL service, the food service and the medical service.

For the profile-oriented basic training as well as for the specialized tactical and special skill training, the Department has at its disposal qualified commanders and instructors who are realizing ever more effectively the principles of the unity of training and education, and of pedagogical, scientific and innovative achievement.

In its training program the Department offers the following major academic fields of study: "Tactics of the Rear Services," "Troop Management," "Material Security," "Medical Security."

The first of these, "Tactics of the Rear Services," is the career-determining major field of the entire Department. Its principal contribution is realistic combat training, and instruction in questions concerning general as well as specific tactics for the rear services. In the first year of study the principal forms of instruction in this major field are primarily combat exercises, and in the following years method and group exercises feature a high degree of initiative and independence on the part of officer candidates during this period of training. The candidates are to be prepared to make calculated decisions and to solve leadership problems under battle-like conditions.

The main contents of the course are:

- structure, armaments, and principles of troop deployment.
- Combat missions and order of battle of a motorized rifle battalion/tank battalion and a motorized rifle regiment/tank regiment in combat.
- problems in structure of rear services for the troops.
- principles of organization and leadership for rear services in battle.
- principles of material and medical security for troops in different combat conditions and on the march, as well as rear area security of an motorized rifle battalion/tank battalion and a motorized rifle regiment/tank regiment.
- organization of supply and evacuation of material, and solution of transport problems.

The second major academic field, "Troop Management," offers varied and, at the same time, specific subject-oriented basic knowledge.

Instruction is offered in the following subjects:

--"Principles of Leadership in Troop Management," with basic courses in foundations and principles of troop quartering, foundations of the financial management of the NVA (National Peoples' Army).

--"Service Organization," with courses in basic military documents and orders, organization of the work of a rear services officer, principles, organization, preparation and management of combat training of the rear services.

--"Rear Services Systems," with courses in the use of maintenance of fuel and lubrication service systems, use and maintenance of food service systems, water transport and water preparation systems, loading and unloading systems, firefighting systems and computer systems.

In the course of this instruction officer candidates will pass requirements for a license to operate road tank trucks, field kitchens with diesel fuel heating systems, aggregates and cranes of group one.

The major academic field of material security offers instruction, within the scope of practical training in the respective course sequences, in specialized subject-oriented problems of fuel and lubrication, food, clothing and equipment supply under garrison as well as combat conditions.

The subjects covered in this major field of study include:

--problems and structure of the rear services as well as the duties of a commanding officer of a service, or of an officer in charge of rear services security.

--norms, units and bases of computations.

--problems related to specific products and food systems.

--supply accounting, planning and procurement in each respective service.

--storage, rotation and issuing of material supplies.

--use, maintenance and repair of the material supplies and technical systems of each respective service.

--accountability, reporting, accounting and analytic work.

--maintenance of constant combat readiness of the rear services, problems of creating a higher level of combat readiness, and of guaranteeing the material security of troops in combat.

The major academic field of "Medical Security" offers instruction in problems of basic medical training for all candidates of the Officers School, of military health services for all officer candidates as well as practical training within planned course sequences.

In basic medical training courses, questions of self-help and mutual aid for different kinds of injuries are discussed, as well as the recovery and transport of injured personnel on the battlefield.

In the field of military health services, instruction is offered in the principles of protection against infectious diseases, of troop hygiene and work protection.

The practical training in this academic field covers the following problems:

- medical support for troops in combat,
- helath and work protection, as well as health education for armed forces members,
- anatomy and physiology of the human organism,
- analysis and evaluation of, and care for surgical injuries and internal illnesses,
- hygiene in buildings, quarters and field camps.

Officer candidates are expected to be closely tied to socialist society, and faithfully dedicated to the working class. They are expected to distinguish themselves through a patriotic as well as international attitude, and to have in their hearts friendship for the USSR, and for other socialist countries and their armed forces.

It is furthermore expected that they take an active part in social activities, especially those of the socialist youth organization, and that they have the necessary specialized educational and vocational qualifications including health and physical fitness.

Within the collective they should display responsible, disciplined, honest and helpful conduct, and they should always strive to improve collective as well as personal achievement.

Candidates for training in the rear services field should have the aptitude and interest for the organization, planning and management of forces, materials and systems, for military-technical and military-economic thought and action, for action marked by foresight and initiative in the interest of training and combat missions to be solved by the troops, as well as for the political, ideological, military and specialized training and the continuous education of subordinates.

A good background for rear services officers training is the completion of training in a specialized trade, such as auto mechanic, automobile driver, maintenance mechanic, chemical production specialist, laboratory assistant, cook, butcher, baker, businessman, industrial specialist or in skills of similar kind.

The principal effort of the Rear Services Section faculty is directed toward creating occupational motivation in the officer candidates, of providing instruction that is realistic and practical, and of assuring effective and productive course contents. On the basis of the results achieved in the academic year 76-77, all members of the Department will strive to solve their new tasks according to standards of even higher quality.

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CSO: 2300

WEST GERMAN COMMENTARY ON GDR BIRTHRATE INCREASE

Bonn DIE WELT in German 24 Jul 78 p 3

[Article by Gerhard Besserer, Berlin: "Comprehensive Measures to Promote Births Have Caused a Baby Boom in the GDR"]

[Text] Sandra and Matthias have bottomed out, Stephanie and Christian are still on the decline. Sandra and Matthias are the most popular names for babies born in the GDR, and that country has a regular baby boom going. Stephanie and Christian are the names favored by parents in the Federal Republic, and our birthrate keeps on sliding. Yet, only a few years back the German babies (East) and the German babies (West) just about kept pace with one another--at the very bottom of the European birth statistics.

While East Berlin's propaganda is normally anything but reticent and proclaims everything to be a genuine "socialist achievement," it is very cautious indeed when it comes to the baby boom. At least "one third of the trend reversal," explains a spokesman for the GDR Health Ministry, is due to the "overall demographic situation in the republic." There are more women and girls of child bearing age. At the same time an increase in second and third births accounts for some two thirds of the rise in the birthrate.

"Dream Target" of SED Planning

By achieving a respectable place in the middle of European birth statistics, the GDR is approaching an old "dream target" of SED planning: The positive population trend. In 1977, at 13.3 live births per 1,000 residents, the excess of GDR deaths over births amounted to only 2,087. The "Statistische Taschenbuch der DDR" [Statistical Pocketbook of the GDR], published this month, quotes last year's population figure as 16,765 million. Ten years ago the figure was 17,082 million. In the Federal Republic only 9.5 births but 11.9 deaths per 1,000 residents are recorded; and the birth deficit continues to grow.

The positive result achieved in the GDR is primarily the consequence of the comprehensive sociopolitical measures for the promotion of births. When, in 1969, deaths exceeded births, the SED rediscovered the family. In the 1950's, when marriage and the family (in contrast to other institutions) appeared

particularly resistant to the influence and control of the SED, the party dismissed the family as unimportant; it was a retarding element of insecurity in the process of "shaping socialist consciousness."

The family code enacted in 1965 also confined itself to formalities. The citizens were to "consciously shape" their family life; "social and individual interests" were to "coincide." Still, despite the appeals the baby boom desired by the state failed to materialize.

That which was not achieved by the "appreciation of the necessity" called for was duly accomplished in the 1970's by definite improvements of conditions for mothers and children. The new "baby year," especially, proved to be a population political hit. Young mothers are now able to stay home for a year with the baby knowing that their jobs will be kept open and their wages paid in the amount of sickness pay.

The GDR also adopted a whole catalog of measures to encourage maternity:

- Since the ninth party congress maternity leave has been extended from 18 to 26 weeks.
- Mothers with two children below the age of 16 work only 40 hours per week, compared to 42-45 hours work done by their colleagues.
- Mothers with two children get 1 week additional vacation per annum.
- The state pays a "maternity bonus" of M5,000.

"Payment in the form of children" is the miracle slogan designed to inspire young couples to get the baby "production" under way. Interest free government loans are granted upon marriage; these are forgiven altogether when children are born. Since 1972 more than half a million young couples have taken advantage of these loans. Three quarters of them were "paid off in children."

No "Baby Gap"

Free abortions have been granted in the GDR since 1972. They did not result in a "baby gap" as initially feared. Following determined efforts at providing sex education, the incidence of abortions (according to official data) has declined from 120,000 to 80,000 in the past 4 years. The GDR press is involved in the educational campaign. In the youth magazine NEUES LEBEN [New Life], Professor Dr. Horrmann informs Petra, a 17-year old expectant mother. "It is comforting to live in a society which makes sure that even young mothers and their children receive aid allowing them fully to develop their personalities." Nevertheless the GDR baby boom moves within rather narrow limits, and that for two reasons: Official propaganda cannot possibly approve the "housewife and mother marriage." The GDR is dependent on women as workers in industry, administration and agriculture. More women than men hold jobs between Rostock

and Dresden. As many as 78.8 percent of women of working age are gainfully employed. The GDR economy cannot afford to let them go.

In addition German husbands are no better in the East than in the West. More than 75 percent of all housework rests on the shoulders of the wife, regardless whether she is employed or not. Patriarchy has survived socialist education.

11698

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BROADER INTERPRETATION OF PLANT DEMOCRACY URGED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 7, Jul 78 pp 8-12

[Article by Gyula Moldovan, co-worker in the Central Committee: "A Further Strengthening of Plant Democracy"]

[Text] In the wake of the stand taken by the 11th congress and then of the 6 April 1977 resolution of the Political Committee a number of measures and steps have been taken in the recent past for a further strengthening of plant democracy. The experiences in the realization of these convincingly prove that the decisions and measures taken are realistic and can be realized. Execution is going forward successfully, the trend is good and the initial results are worthy of attention. With the improving guidance in principle and political guidance of our party organizations and in the wake of their more efficient agitation and propaganda work the initial interpretative debates are ending, the doubts and uncertainty experienced in places are diminishing and a healthier conception is beginning to develop in the development of democratism and in the work of the forums.

The leading trade union organs and their elected leaders and activists are working with great political responsibility and will on the development of plant democracy. According to our experiences the majority of the economic leaders also received the decisions and measures positively and with approval. The leaders are increasingly handling the forums as aids in their work and as an organic part of leadership. They are relying on them and providing them with the conditions needed for their operation. Sharing the problems, they make use of the recommendations of the workers and a reassuring change can be experienced in the handling of these recommendations. A better division of labor has developed and is strengthening among the enterprise party, economic, trade union and youth organs and their leaders.

A more effective realization of the various forms of plant democracy takes place not separately in the form of a campaign but rather as an organic part of the solution of tasks on the agenda. As the most essential result of this, the interest of plant or enterprise public opinion is being directed more to concrete economic, production tasks, to the effective execution of these and to the resolution of occasional problems. The production activity of the workers has increased. They have recognized the problems of the

leadership on a broad scale and are treating these problems with understanding. The internal organizational, guidance and information systems of several plants have moved--if slowly--from their previous condition as part of the execution process. The sphere of authority of middle and lower level leaders has increased in a few places although the pace of this is not at all satisfactory, taking into consideration our possibilities.

It is worthy of note that activity which directly and more concretely aids management and production has received greater emphasis in the work of the trade unions. This is all the more significant because we met with an excessive "rights centered" view in some trade union organs earlier. The methods of the movement today better fit the concrete tasks mentioned and are linked to them more strongly. Planning, organization and method are strengthening in the guidance work of the trade union organs.

It is an achievement worthy of respect that a qualitative change has begun in regard to the more direct participation of the workers in decision making. Not only has the activity of the workers increased in this direction but also opinions and judgments are more critical, better founded and more concrete and the recommendations proposed are directed toward essential matters and are more substantive and this is accompanied everywhere by a deepening sense of responsibility. Execution of the cited resolution of the Political Committee has brought a new level in that it has further increased and made concrete the role of the place of work collective in giving opinions on medium range and annual enterprise plans, among other things, in accepting the collective contract and of the enterprise social plan, in wage development, in distribution of the profit share fund and, last but not least, in giving an opinion on the annual activity of the economic leadership.

A New Forum for Plant Democracy

In the more than one year since the appearance of the resolution the greater attention in the development of plant democracy has been directed, by party organizations, trade unions and economic leaders alike, to the creation and operation of joint sessions of stewards and enterprise trade union councils. Following the joint resolution of the Council of Ministers and National Council of Trade Unions, 68 percent of the enterprises affected in the first stage--which employs 76 percent of the workers--created this new forum of plant democracy. These forums have now met an average of two to three times in the area affected. Thus the workers of industry, trade, transportation and agriculture were concrete participants on a broad scale in developing the 1978 enterprise plans, in local wage and income policy measures, in defining social and cultural goals and in supervising the execution of the collective contracts. Passing an opinion on the work of the economic leaders took place for the first time before such a broad public.

Where the preparatory work was adequate the joint session became a real debate forum--in accordance with its planned purpose. The degree of activity has exceeded the level of the conferences of a similar character which continue

to meet not only in regard to numbers but also in content. The majority of the stewards well represented the opinion of their groups. A courageous stand, a critical tone and a responsibility for the community felt and assumed was characteristic. Objectivity, responsible representation, constructivity, understanding and seriousness are all signs of the increasing political maturity. These things also show that the interest of plant public opinion was aroused more successfully than previously, the workers are better informed about the questions coming on the agenda and there is a better realization of their opinion and proposals in the decisions made and stand taken. It is a very essential element that in more and more places more energy is devoted to a careful organization of the execution of decisions made, in addition to the good preparation and the conducting of the joint sessions, and more workers are being brought into this process also.

The stewards placed the greater emphasis on wage, income and social questions. But one cannot say that some sort of "distribution view" became predominant because in addition to these questions a suitable place was given to tasks connected with enterprise management and development. At the same time, they accepted with understanding and support the leadership proposals and efforts connected with a strengthening of efficiency and quality, with modernization of the product structure and with a strengthening of work discipline. Many mentioned the deficiencies in work organization and in material and parts supply, the problems of inordinate overtime and the unfavorable working conditions. They demanded from the leadership the technical and organizational guarantees needed to carry out the planned production tasks and developmental ideas.

Offering an opinion on the annual work of the directors and their deputies, represented for the bodies a new type of task, in general a difficult and complex one. The greatest lack of understanding, reservations, anxiety, distrust and disapproval appeared in this question. This had primarily attitudinal causes but methodological inexperience also caused problems. For these reasons this question was not even put on the agenda in some enterprises. But it is worthy of attention that where they did discuss this, the experiences were positive in the great majority of cases.

Here also the key to a solution is in the hands of the party organizations. Where the trade union committee and the steward body harmonized its opinion with the party organizations (and in some places with the KISZ) in time the annual work of the leaders was judged with circumspect observations, a recognition of achievements and with objective and helpful observations and this is a good aid to more effective leadership activity. The inclusion of more workers in the judgment proved useful to the leaders affected emotionally also. Many of them said that they remembered every word spoken, that it strengthened their sense of responsibility and nourished their feeling of security and strengthened their feeling of orientation, that the observations were true and correct and that they felt the helpful intent.

The majority of the stewards received the agenda themes in time prior to the joint session, these were debated at group conferences and so they could attend the meeting with jointly worked out opinions and positions. This has a favorable effect on the development of trade union democratism, on group life, on the organizing and educational work of the stewards and it strengthens their responsibility.

It was a new aspect that almost without exception written presentations were published for the agendas. Some of the trade union committees linked to this the taking of a prior position and thus oriented the debate. In some cases alternatives were published and the decision really was left to the body. The recommendations were put to a vote and the decisions and positions taken were summarized adequately. This is important not only so that everyone will understand what has been agreed. But also so that they can quickly and unambiguously inform their groups and mobilize them for the work to be done.

These methods--only outlined here--also show that democratism cannot be equated with a single act--the joint session itself or some other conference--but rather is a process which extends from active and worthy participation in preparation through the organization of execution of the decisions made all the way to an evaluation of them and designation of new tasks. This is a repeating and regular process in which the workers can live democratism with their whole being.

Encouraging a Uniform Interpretation

The effective political work and continual supervision by the party organizations has a significant role in realization of the resolutions and serving the development of plant democracy. The majority of them have treated this task in accordance with its political significance. They were the leaven for the tangible broadening and strengthening of democratism.

There are questions where the party organization must do more effective propaganda and agitation than at present in the interest of a good understanding and the uniform interpretation. There are still views in some places according to which bringing the workers directly into leadership is viewed as an obstacle to leadership activity, slowing guidance and limiting one person leadership. They do not understand that the development of plant democracy is in the interest of the economic leadership also, that the forums are helpers, supports, and tools without which one cannot lead with security today.

Some feel that there is a contradiction between plant democracy and a leadership style which demands maintaining order and work discipline. And yet the party organizations and trade unions do everything to help the work of determined leaders with initiative and in the event of conflicts deriving from their measures directed at creating order and discipline, they take a stand with the leaders. So it is necessary to emphasize again and again in party political work that the modern leadership style desired today is to insure organized, continual and effective production, order

and discipline with the support of the democratic forums and bringing in the workers on a broad scale.

Conservatism and the narrow view start from the idea, for example, that operating the new forums takes up time and causes new problems. Where democratism has a campaign character it really does take up time but where plant democracy is regarded as an indispensable condition for and organic part of high quality socialist leadership and where the conditions for its functioning are created it provides a secure background for the leadership in the execution of even the most difficult tasks.

The unity of rights and obligations is worthy of an important place in political work. Many understand by democratism only the right of criticism and they forget about obligations. And yet plant democracy is actually a mutual obligation and a mutual equality of rights appearing in questions decided upon by the one person responsible leader and the collective. The party membership should see to it that the workers understand their place and role and the place and role of the collective in the place of work processes.

We must continue to debate with those who would limit the essence and concept of plant democracy to the activity of some single forum. For a long time plant democracy was limited to the production conferences. Now we are hearing opinions according to which plant democracy is being carried out solely and exclusively by the steward body or the joint session. Some see a guarantee for the realization of democratism only in the development of direct forum and they belittle the indirect forums or the system of such forums. Some feel that it is too early to develop direct democratism because--they say--the workers are not able to avail themselves of this. In such cases it would be good to ask why they cannot avail themselves of it adequately and then see what has been done to create the conditions.

There are those who think of the socialist brigade conference as the chief and fundamental forum of direct democracy. We should treat such and similar opinions carefully. The participation of the workers in leadership takes place in a very complex manner, as expressed continually and jointly by a number of forums, conferences and social and political organizations. It is realized at the highest level in the democratism of the enterprise party organization and membership meeting, it is realized in the internal democratism of the trade union and KISZ organization and in the effect of their work on the plant and enterprise collective. It is realized in all those conferences and corporate sessions where the workers participate directly or indirectly (through their elected representatives) in the leadership of the enterprise. What should be emphasized is whether or not democratism is functioning and is being realized, whether or not the workers have a say, whether or not possibilities are given for them to make recommendations and whether or not they participate in making decisions. In this sense the forums provide a framework for this.

Thus, with the system of steward's bodies or chief steward's bodies, it is not simply that a new forum has begun to operate, but rather this body should so exercise its rights as to bring a broader sphere of workers into the leadership, into decision making and into factory public life. In this way new strata of the workers may be activized. The fact is that the operation of this body is effective only if it is based on the opinions and proposals of the workers.

Practical Tasks in the Foreground

It is the task of the party organization to see that the emphasis should be on improving the work of all democratic forums. The forums constitute a coordinated system; they supplement one another organically. It is very important that all of them make use of their sphere of tasks and responsibilities, no more and no less. This should be insisted upon because this is how we can decrease duplication and formal aspects. Although in this regard we have other tasks also, for example, reducing superfluous publications and written materials, a good selection of agendas to be discussed, etc.

With their initiatives our party organizations should help the ministries and the branch or industrial trade unions in the development of work methods needed for a more effective realization of plant democracy and they should demand that these adapt better to the requirements of democratism. There should be an end to the unjustified sluggishness appearing in some places in the preparation of orders of business regulating the tasks, authority and functioning of the several forums.

It is a general problem that not enough progress has been achieved in the necessary decentralization of spheres of authority. This is holding back an adequate realization of the sphere of authority of the trade union stewards and it is holding back the increased participation of workers in decision making, in those direct forums such as the production conferences and other forums at the factory unit level. Taking into consideration the possibilities, we must accelerate the modernization of the international organizational, guidance and information systems of the enterprises and plants. The spheres of authority of middle and lower level leaders must be increased. Our party organizations should encourage and aid the economic and technical leadership in this.

What has been said indicates without exception that we have achieved that phase of execution where the concrete tasks of the partial tasks appear together with the chief processes of the entire task. This includes, for example, a careful preparation of the joint session, planning the period between the two sessions, and organizing the execution of the decisions passed. The party organization should also encourage and require that the functioning of the body should develop in such a way that every democratic element should live and profit and yet be well planned and kept in hand. Our party organizations should create an atmosphere in which the prior harmonization of tasks and the creation of a common language

and a uniform interpretation will become a general method at all levels. No party organization can be a mute observer of the activity taking place here, cannot abandon the economic leadership or the trade union organs responsible for execution. The passing of opinions upon the activity of the economic leaders should be based on a jointly developed position which can never dispense with the opinion of the authoritatively appropriate organs of the party.

It is our joint task and our joint responsibility to make use of every valuable positive element, to make general and strengthen all favorable phenomena. This can be realized only as a process directed and organized by the party organizations. Thus the strengthening of plant democracy, seeing that it operates better according to our principles, must have a more respected place than it does now in the work of the party organizations as a whole.

8984

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HUNGARY

GASPAR DISCUSSES EXPERIENCES OF NINTH WORLD CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 7 Jul 78 pp 3-11

[Article by Sandor Gaspar, member of Politbureau, First Secretary of National Council of Trade Unions: "The Forum of the Workers of the World, The Ninth World Congress of Trade Unions"]

[Text] The great muster of the the international labor movement, the Ninth World Congress of Trade Unions, was held in Prague on April 16-23. The delegates came to the Czech capital from every part of the world. Delegates from 303 member organizations in 140 countries participated in this international labor forum as representatives of about 230 million trade union members. They were the spokesmen of the world's trade unions and organized workers. Never before had so many trade unions and organized workers been represented at such a council. The great magnetism of the congress is confirmed by the fact that a large number of the countries represented there are not members of the SZVSZ [World Federation of Trade Unions].

The Ninth World Congress of Trade Unions was characterized by openness. It was open to every trade union regardless of its affiliation or whether it was a member of the World Council of Trade Unions. In the spirit of this idea every trade union in the world received an invitation to the congress. The delegates and every participating organization had the right to join and actively collaborate in the activities of the major labor committees, outside of the sessions of the congress, and they spoke out and expressed their opinions of the documents. In this way they became active participants in shaping the agendas facing the trade union movement.

Even during the preparatory work it could be foreseen that the collaboration of the trade unions of the entire world in the work of the congress would be broader than ever before, since the preliminary discussion of the document plans did not only arouse a great deal of interest within the SZVSZ ranks, but also outside of them. All of this shows that the influence and range of the World Federation of Trade Unions is increasing, and far exceeds the circle of its own member unions. Thus the congress rightly considered

itself called to be an international forum to deliberate on the problems of the organized workers of the world. The open nature of the congress was also shown in the democratic attitude of the preparatory work. The Supreme Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the member organizations prepared for the World Congress with exceptional care. While committees worked to formulate the documents placed before the congress, the member unions of the SZVSZ also strove by bilateral contacts to assure the active participation of as many trade unions as possible.

The broad active participation in the work of this congress reflects the fact that the real demands of the organized workers of the world are for collaboration, collective examination of common problems and a search for common solutions. Every delegate participated in the discussions with equal right. The congress chamber was the stage for open and democratic discussions, and this only increased the effect of the collectively accepted guidelines. In this way the documents discussed and accepted really reflect the agreement of the majority of organized workers of the world.

The world situation in which the sessions took place made the congress unusual and actually distinguished it from earlier congresses. On the one hand the deepening crisis of the capitalist society exerted an effect on the international working class which required a response. On the other hand the trade unions functioning in the socialist countries and in the countries of the "third world" face tasks in the interests of the prosperity of their own countries and further improvement in their own lives, in which collaboration, solidarity, and an acquaintance with mutual experiences are becoming more and more significant.

The congress carried out successful work. It responsibly dealt with the current questions of our time and filled its basic mission. It applied directions which clearly formulated our efforts and goals: service to progress, commitment to the working class, our preparations for unity and collaboration, strengthening of solidarity, and multilateral support for the power of progress, peace and democracy. Documents were successfully developed which correctly orient the activity of every trade union in the world, and which will soon serve the interests of the workers.

The agenda included comments, progress during the conference, freedom, the future of peace, and many tasks and concerns for the representation and ratification of the interests of the workers of the world, and we can rightly state that their solutions are among the things to be done currently by the trade union movement.

The idea of unity and international solidarity was primarily expressed in such a way that the congress provided a possibility for worker organizations struggling under different conditions and following different trends to help each other along the path and to understand each other in the common language of labor interests. It gave confidence and strength to those trade unions which are looking for a path to collaboration, unity and solidarity.

All trade unions must work together in the interests of progress and development. However, the basic requirement for this cooperation can only be sincere service in the concerns of the workers.

Striving for unity always characterized the SZVSZ work. Unity and solidarity are based on the community of interests which unites all the workers of the world across national boundaries. The SZVSZ is the only world organization which rallies the trade unions of the socialist countries, the capitalist countries and the "third world" into its ranks as equal members. The fact that it must give equal attention to the specific and complex situation of the workers and laborers of the three groups of countries, following radically opposing policies and completely different economic systems, makes the tasks of the world organization complicated. It was successful, and this is why the World Congress was characterized by dialectics of unity and variety. This means that a world organization, if it really wishes to remain so, cannot strive for homogenous unity, because it is obvious that the trade unions of countries of different social orders all have their specific profile. Unity characterized the congress in the sense that the basic goals in the service of labor class matters in the battle waged for progress and for the rights of the workers were identical, and that we are ready for collaboration and unity in action. During the conference a number of the speakers, including the deputy secretary general of the World Labor Organization, stated that the international trade union movement needs collaboration, multilateral contacts and contacts between world trade union organizations.

Precisely on the basis of the multilateral discussion, the Ninth World Congress was able to produce harmony on a much higher level and more completely than earlier ones in the ambitions of the international trade union movement groups working under different circumstances.

The congress approached the great questions of the international situation with the realization that the basic interests of the workers are identical throughout the world and that their validation is the joint concern and responsibility of every trade union.

For once the congress created an open forum for the exchange of opinions and battle experience of trade unions functioning under different circumstances and for the expression of various views and approaches to the attempt to unify the international trade union movement. It became clear during the congress discussions that not everyone understands the idea of unity and the strengthening of ties in the same way. Clarification of this is necessary not only for establishment of tasks, since faulty understanding is disorienting, but also because it can cause damage.

There are some who narrow the idea of unity down to occasional bilateral contacts. There are others who believe that organizational unity should be set up as a real goal. Still others, namely some of the trade union leaders working in capitalist countries, believe that it would be difficult to cultivate widespread relations and achieve cooperation with trade unions

operating in the socialist countries, because these "are integrated into the state," and "they are not independent, strong."

In addition the Ninth World Congress of Trade Unions produced trust that there are possibilities for cooperation among trade unions of different tendencies working under different conditions, and that this collaboration is not only possible, but indispensable. The basis for this is that the daily and general interests of the working class and of the masses of workers are one and indivisible throughout the world, and that it is becoming more and more difficult to represent these interests merely within national spheres or through an occasional world association. Needed in the international struggle of the working class is a more concerted and unified attitude and activity. We must respect the ideological ideas and world views of one another, but every trade union must become more and more aware of the urgent effect of reality, that we are children of the same class, and that even today no working class of any country can do without the gigantic power of international collaboration and solidarity in its own struggle.

For our part, it is absolutely clear and understandable that trade unions functioning in an identical social system find possibilities of collaboration more rapidly because the identity of interests is most evident. Already common interests appear and exert an influence on the continental and world level. The congress gave unambiguous assurance that it is possible to carry on discussions on the basis of mutual respect for viewpoints. This is natural and almost unavoidable. There can be competition with respect to who accomplishes their tasks better and more expediently. In this competition there are no losers, and only the international working class can be the winner. It is not possible for some to live as if others were not on the earth. On the international plane we can be guided only by the pure and respectful intention of the battle carried out for the interests of the working class and the workers.

Organized workers living in nonsocialist countries have always followed the movement of trade unions functioning under conditions of labor power with great interest, because their experience and capabilities can teach other trade unions a great deal. It is no accident that in our day, when the attraction of socialism is growing stronger and stronger, our enemies are striving with all their might to paint a false picture of the trade union movement in the socialist countries, to erect obstacles to the emerging efforts at union and to drive a wedge between the organized workers living in socialist and nonsocialist countries.

Therefore it is understandable that the Ninth World Congress of Trade Unions devoted a great deal of attention to the trade union movement in socialist countries. Through a presentation of reality, analyzing both the results and difficulties of the activity of socialist country trade unions, the congress rejected the conscious efforts of the class enemy to falsify the fact, and provided an answer for the doubts and questions still existing in some of the capitalist country workers.

The World Congress above all indicated the theoretical difference which exists between the conditions of activity of the trade unions functioning under capitalism and the trade unions working under socialism. If the nature of the power is changed, and the working class, allied with the other laboring classes or strata, comes to power, the state will be busy meeting goals matching the trade union ambitions. In this way the trade union becomes a participant in power, so that it cannot remain in a position of opposition. In socialist society the trade unions, as the organizations protecting the workers' interests, are responsible for the building of socialism, the manifold development of the country, and looking out for the general social interests of the workers as well as for their direct individual and collective interests.

Under the conditions of socialism nothing limits the activity of the trade unions. The trade unions functioning in the socialist countries have become social organizations provided with strong political, legal and material instruments. They have developed into important and influential partners of the economic and state leadership.

The altered situation, collaboration with the state, makes it particularly important for the socialist country trade unions to realistically indicate their positions and activities before the workers of the world with due self-criticism. However, they did not conceal the fact that the working people in our country also have worries and problems and that bureaucracy, neglect and careless work sometimes cause damage and frustration. Still, the worries and difficulties are completely different from the problems of workers in capitalist countries: we need not undertake a struggle against uncertain living conditions, unemployment, the lack of affirmative laws and possibilities, and exploitation, but for the implementation of the still unsolved tasks of socialism, elimination of the obstacles facing socialist development, and for the achievements of the goals of socialism, the only humane social order. In keeping with everything and in addition to indicating in the debates of the conference the achievements achieved, the trade unions of the socialist countries frankly acknowledged the difficulties occurring in the course of their work and gave a real picture of their trade union movements taking shape alongside the development of society.

Our international class brothers can count on the solidarity of the socialist countries, on the powerful and realistic strength which the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, peoples struggling for peace, democracy and development, represent.

Our cohesive force is internationalism. Our former experience strengthens us in this. We know that national interests are important, and no people or nation can deny this. But we also know that in countries where workers have come to power nationality thrives, because internationalism is never an impediment but everywhere an aid in the development of national interests. When we, Hungarian trade unions, raise the national banner, the international flag waves beside it.

The congress showed very well that new conditions of international solidarity on the part of workers have evolved in our day. The basic motif in all of the speeches was that the workers can and do count on themselves and on their international working brethren under difficult circumstances.

It was in this spirit that the congress set the most important goals of the World Trade Union movement. They are as follows: a struggle for peace, detente, disarmament and cooperation among peoples, a struggle for the economic and social rights of the workers, and that the workers adequately participate in the goods created by their work, a battle for democratic and trade union laws and to overcome the damaging effects of the crisis, a battle for a new and equitable economic world order, for the political and economic independence and development of every nation, and for the ultimate liquidation of colonialism, racism and facism.

With proper pride the Prague Conference was able to announce that the membership and strength of our World Federation keeps increasing. Since the Eighth Congress, 17 new member unions have entered the SZVSZ ranks. However, we are not only more numerous, but our voice is heard in every more distant and broader circles in the world. Our mass influence has grown. Our friends who came from the developing countries have convinced us of this.

In the course of human history many honest ventures have failed because their representatives had the truth but lacked strength.

The Prague congress again showed that we not only have truth, but also strength. The International Trade Union movement carries more and more weight in international policy. The SZVSZ has withstood the test of time, and the influence of its activities has already far outgrown the limits of its member unions. Its voice is heard in the world in an every widening circle.

The prestige and mass influence of SZVSZ has grown and will grow in the future because it has consistently fought and will continue to fight for better living conditions for the working class and workers, for freedom, for peace, for national independence and for democracy.

A great deal was said about revival and flexibility in the conference. Certainly there is a great need of these. Revival is important from day to day in the interests of successful representation of working class matters and in the interests of achieving our goals. Revival readiness is a token of the effectiveness and success of our work, because the trade union movement can only fulfill its mission in our changing world if it adapts to the changes.

It was made abundantly clear at the Congress that the masses of the workers and the trade unions are seeking the most suitable and best path for themselves in the midst of altered circumstances. Everyone is looking for a path on which his improved work and personal fortune finds more encouraging, more convenient and more humane prospects.

The ways, instruments and methods of achieving these goals are still changing and will continue to change. This can also be clearly seen in the SZVSZ. It was demonstrated right at the Ninth Congress that the world organization is ready to listen to and consider various concepts, and will gladly accept every new constructive idea and suggestion.

Every trade union has the common problem of seeking new paths. The trade unions in the socialist countries have still not reached the heights of their historic tasks, while the trade union movement in the capitalist countries has not yet overcome the new manifestations of international capitalism. No matter how tested, we can no longer use the old methods in the trade union movement. Dogma hinders and paralyzes the efficiency and animation of trade unions.

The SZVSZ must strive for constant improvement and incessant modernization of its methods. Only in this way can it enhance its prestige, expand its role, strengthen its influence in the world, and acquire many more political instruments than in the past for a renewed promotion of international solidarity.

More liveliness than in the past is necessary in order to constantly develop and strengthen the effectiveness and quality of the work of our World Federation. The World Federation must be heedful of the multilateral nature of the trade union movement in our days, and must allow open discussion of the questions affecting trade unions. Democratic methods must be organized and continuously improved through flexible programs and instruments. New methods must be introduced into our work, suitable for increasing the influence and effectiveness of trade unions. Effectiveness and animation require that the organizational development of the movement better reflect the changes carried out in the trade union movement, the enhancement of the prestige of the movement and the maturity of the SZVSZ member organizations. This revival should also extend to relations between the World Federation and other international associations.

Every level of the SZVSZ organization has been allotted more tasks and greater responsibility than in the past. The changing circumstances require greater dynamic activity and flexibility from the trade union movement. The purpose of the work of the World Federation remains unchanged, irreversible. However, the instruments for achieving this purpose and the means used in the search for methods can be modified.

Several months before the Congress, the Italian CGIL [Italian General Confederation of Labor] announced that it was leaving the SZVSZ. The announcement did not take the World Federation by surprise, since already at the Eighth Congress in Varna, the CGIL changed its SZVSZ membership to associate membership. Thus this step was a consequence expected in due course. The initial causes undoubtedly spring from the situation in Italian domestic politics. The Italian trade unions believe that they can more easily establish trade union unity in their country without SZVSZ membership.

At the same time, in justifying their step, the Italian trade unions mentioned that they support the activity and development of the world federation. They have not made full use of this support, so the situation is not completely clear to us.

Naturally we know that in spite of ceaseless development the work of the SZVSZ is still not perfect, and thus it cannot keep pace with the requirements of life in every way. Still the activity of the purpose determined by the World Federation is continuing in harmony with the situation and requirements. A week before the World Congress the French CGT [General Labor Confederation] announced that it did not have a candidate for the position of SZVSZ secretary general, and did not want to assume any leading function in the World Federation. It is a well-known fact that for 30 years the secretary general of the World Federation had been French. The motives of the French trade unions were similar to those of the Italians: to a large extent it developed from domestic political causes and supports the organization and activities of the World Federation. While we do not agree with them, we are cognizant of the decisions of the Italian and French trade unions. On the other hand we are happy with the attitude of the Italian and French trade unions, namely that, regardless of their decisions, they wish to continue to work with us and to struggle for progress, for the interests of the working class and for reinforcement of the unity of the international trade union movement.

The documents approved by the World Congress of Trade Unions include the recommendations of the progressive labor movement in connection with the ideas which working men in every part of the world are concerned with.

The main document of the Congress is the so-called "Orientational Document," which gives an indication of what the correct attitude is in the world situation today and of what the guidelines of action are in those questions which the labor movement everywhere wants to solve. This document succeeded better than any previous attempt in formulating the common tasks for the trade unions functioning in socialist countries, the developed capitalist countries and in the "third world."

This document specifies the guidelines for the SZVSZ activity in the near future. It analyzes and evaluates the political and trade union situation in our world of today and indicates the instruments with which the organizations representing the interests of workers and laborers must live during their work. I am convinced that the workers of the world, regardless of which part of the world they inhabit and under which social system they live, will be able to continue struggling more effectively for their rights and interests when they possess this orientation. The "Orientational Document" is the synthesis of the joint tasks of the international trade union movement and of the efforts directed toward collaboration and united action. It summarizes the goals in which a uniform attitude evolved at the Congress among the countries of different social structures.

Likewise worthy of attention among the documents of the Ninth World Congress of Trade Unions is the "General Statement on Trade Union Laws," which contains the purposes, efforts toward union and efforts toward solidarity of the trade unions of the entire world. The "General Statement" is of great significance because in our day, when the problem of rights to freedom come to the fore with special frequency, this document with its scientific basis establishes the point of view of the trade union movement on the rights of trade unions and freedom, and their practice.

In our times, when more and more generations of workers throughout the world are engaged in factory production in ever larger numbers, the trade union is an indispensable instrument in achieving, defending and expanding economic, social and cultural rights of workers, to an equal degree in daily life, work and society. The workers and their trade unions have always taken part and always will take part in the continuing struggle for the freedom of peoples, for national independence and for the defense of freedom, and in the battle waged against fascism, national oppression and racial discrimination. The trade unions and workers in the capitalist countries of varied development are increasing their activity in the defense of better living and working conditions, employment security and labor law. At the same time newer laws are required in the redistribution of social goods and the fruits of economic growth, and in the administration of society.

At the same time the "General Statement on Trade Union Laws" at the same time reflects the fact that the principles of trade union law are recognized on the international plane and in every major area. During the last decade the content of trade union law practice has expanded. At the same time a guarantee of newer laws and functions has become necessary for the trade unions in society, economy, in the life of enterprises and in international relations.

The prospects for the strength and influence of the international trade union movement, including SZVSZ, are encouraging. In this regard the World Congress began a new procedure. The vigorous development of the SZVSZ requires that the interests achieved so far be protected and their effects be applied to wider circles. If we are to achieve our increased possibilities, we need strategy and tactics for constant revitalization of our daily activity and continuous improvement in our forms and methods of work.

The consistent implementation of the decisions and resolutions adopted on the basis of the discussions conducted at the Ninth World Congress, the exchange of viewpoints and opinions and the careful consideration of circumstances and opportunities is the path which the SZVSZ must follow. One point should be promoted for identical purposes in discussions among trade unions functioning under different circumstances: more complete and more successful service in the interests of the working class.

The Hungarian trade unions took an active part in the preparatory work of the World Congress and actively participated in the programs of the 1-week session. In its statement the Hungarian Trade Union delegation called attention to the fact that the socialist order should be considered in its development and progress, and that we also have our cares. We know full well that we have not always immediately found the proper methods for the building of socialism, and that this led to mistakes, and sometimes to conflict. We also have human shortcomings. Still we said, and said justly, that the life of our workers is essentially and favorably different from that of workers living in a capitalist society. This is even true if a few developed capitalist countries can offer workers even more of their goods today. After all, we must evaluate the life of a working man on a more multilateral basis. Our society is the labor society which is the most equitable society to date. We have established this society. Our common struggles and common efforts are embodied in everything which we have achieved and of which we are proud. This gives us a right to say that in the first place we are dissatisfied with everything we have not yet solved. Socialist society has not yet completely developed, but it is already better than the most developed capitalist system. It is better because it demands more, more humanely and more completely, of everyone and gives the same to everyone. Thus socialism meets the highest aspirations of humanity.

At the Congress we also mentioned the fact that the trade union movement in the socialist countries cannot be considered finished, completed. The activity of the trade unions in socialist countries evolves and takes shape along with society. In the midst of society's expanding political, economic and spiritual circumstances, our trade unions are satisfying their missions more and more completely. We have still not reached the pinnacle of our historical agenda, but up to now we have honorably carried out the tasks devolving upon us in the difficult and elevating work of the century-old desires of the working class and the formation of socialism.

6806

CSO: 2500

POLAND

EXPULSIONS, TRIALS OF WESTERN JOURNALISTS IN BLOC JUSTIFIED

Warsaw GLOS PRACY in Polish 20 Jul 78 p 3

[Article by Eugeniusz Guz]

[Text] Several socialist countries have recently been compelled to more often scrutinize the practices of various Western correspondents accredited to these countries, practices which are inconsistent with rules of hospitality and even with journalistic ethics. The reasons for criticism, sometimes also of administrative sanctions against these correspondents or special envoys, are not their negative reports about the host countries or their preoccupation with negative phenomena. The authorities of socialist countries react when a correspondent wires to his home desk plain lies, when he manipulates with fabrications and insinuations instead of facts. It is perceived in the capitals of socialist countries that such a style of reporting not only conflicts with universally accepted principles of journalism but also violates the spirit and the letter of the Final Act of the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe].

In an interview with the West German newspaper SAAR BRUECKER ZEITUNG, the text of which was also printed in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on 7 June, Chairman of the State Council Erich Honecker replied to the question about reasons for "expelling or admonishing critically biased West German journalists" by asking, "How can relations between the GDR and the FRG become further normalized if the mass media in the FRG constantly interfere in our internal affairs, if they disseminate untruths and half-truths about the GDR, if they spread lies around the world and, furthermore, comment on them all year round treating them as truth, honest truth?"

In reply to the comment that sanctions are not applied by the FRG to East German correspondents, Honecker said that, while East German correspondents report critically, "there is no room in our press for lies, distortions, and calumnies." Therefore, there is no cause for sanctions.

E. Honecker's criticism applies not only to West German press reports. On 2 July the British SUNDAY TIMES informed its readers that East German paratroopers from Angola had been deployed in Namibia. "These are pure phantasies," remarked Honecker, "which have nothing to do with the truth. Such reports hurt peace. They contribute to a poisoning of relations between nations and governments."

TASS commentators, as well as the Soviet press, almost every day find something which shows how far Western journalists in their reports depart from the truth about the USSR and about Soviet foreign policy, how they indulge in malicious inventions just to satisfy their principals and fill the needs of the capitalist news market. A TASS commentator wrote the other day that in the NEW YORK TIMES, for instance, there had been a news item on the "penetration" of Africa by the Soviet Union and Cuba. Such material is submitted by propagandists of the Atlantic Bloc to distract the attention from NATO countries' interference in the affairs of African nations.

Recently two American correspondents were brought before the Moscow court by the Soviet television network. These correspondents had indeed accused the Soviet television network of preparing a film report on a repentant dissident. The submitted documentation showed beyond any doubt that no tampering with the film material had taken place. The Moscow correspondent of the STUTTGART ZEITUNG confirmed, by the way, that the Americans had lied to the world.

These are only a few recent examples which indicate how some correspondents misconstrue their duties, completely disregarding that they thus disturb international relations.

It should be noted parenthetically that when the government of Malta a few days ago expelled all British correspondents from the island, accusing them of disseminating lies about Malta, Western mass media (except the British, of course) deemed this worthy of a brief mention only and many dailies completely ignored this incident. From the West German press this news item vanished almost without a trace. Let the Czech authorities expel the correspondent of the West German television network, however, and a big fuss was raised with regard to restrictions on the press. It all depends on where, west or east of the ideological boundary, an event takes place.

As a journalist, I naturally declare myself in favor of creating the best possible conditions for the performance of our professional job in every geographical latitude. This is also what my inborn sense of professional solidarity with other journalists dictates. This solidarity cannot, however, extend also to those who consciously detract from the good name of the profession.

2415

CSO: 2600

POLAND

JOURNALISTS DISCUSS EFFECTS OF INFORMATION ACCESS DECREE

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 6, Jun 78 pp 8-16

[Responses to PRASA POLSKA poll: "What Hopes Do We Link With the Council of Ministers' Decree?"]

[Excerpts] Three months have passed since the Council of Ministers decree on the issue of further improvement of mass-media information has gone into effect. The enormous significance of that document for every possible press activity and for public opinion has been pointed out in commentaries which appeared after its announcement in the MONITOR. A journalist of POLITYKA stated point-blank: "The impediment of access to information is no longer the journalists' private problem; it is now a serious violation of law." Another wrote in ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE (Economic Life): "At stake is a broader issue: the reinforcement of the role of mass-media information as an important factor in increasing the participation of public in removing the obstacles blocking the country's development by eliminating especially negative phenomena and by stronger support by that majority of our society which wants, understands and actually is the agent of good works and better administration." In the article published on that occasion in PRASA POLSKA we extensively discussed the decree's content as it pertains to the ways of reacting to the press criticism and of using its conclusions.

How do the journalists evaluate the Council of Ministers' decree now that the content of that important juridical act has probably been quite adequately disseminated? Did it also reach the conscience of administrative executives and directors of state establishments and various institutions, whose obligation is to inform the representatives of the press, broadcasting and television about matters of public interest, and provide them with the clarification and the help necessary to carry out their function? Did any improvement occur in this area, and can one speak of any benefits from the decree's implementation so far? These questions have been directed to our colleagues who represent the central and local press. Below we publish their answers.

Stanislaw Swierad, GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA

With somewhat mixed feelings I set about expressing my opinion on the subject of the implementation of the Council of Ministers' decree concerning the further improvement of mass-media information access. This is for several reasons. In the first place, it is difficult to evaluate, in such a relatively short period, the actual changes for journalists, especially for those who work in the so-called remote areas. Secondly, being such an old hand at these matters, I long ago lost faith in the beneficial effects of such decrees and dispositions, orders and prohibitions. That is to say, automatically beneficial.

Does this mean, therefore, that the decree is superfluous? Obviously not. In recent years, many misunderstandings have sprung up regarding press criticism, the proper response to it, the access to sources of information, the emergence of special castes of "untouchables." Perhaps we most of all have felt it especially in our local press. After all, we live so close to those who are the objects of these criticisms and thus being exposed to their revenge.

Therefore, with pleasure and with hope we have welcomed the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and Council of Ministers' decree on the matter of press criticism and of information journalists. A similar position was assumed by party authorities in our three voivodships: Bialostok, Lomza and Survalk. The party authorities see the journalists as allies for implementing their own programs and intentions, and as allies in eliminating life's negative phenomena.

Does this mean that differences of opinion never occur between us, the journalists and the party authorities in certain cases? They certainly do. They are, however, more often resolved by discussion and confrontation of opinion, and not by one-sided condemnation of the sort: "The authorities are right, the journalists are not." The periodic meeting of representatives of party authorities and the administration with employees of the Bialostock press proceed in such a manner.

The situation in some institutions, organizations, towns and rural communities is somewhat worse. There, internal guidelines defining what and how the journalists can be told are still in force. Often guidelines of that kind are not issued in writing (this is dangerous), but given orally. Everyone, however, observes these guidelines scrupulously. So how can one nullify such bans and restrictions? It is not so simple. Perhaps one would rather have them published in the press, in particular, specifying names and places.

Why did I, being, as I said above, such an old hand, lose faith in the magic, automatic force of decrees? This is because I think that the most important attributes of our profession are considered to be competence and inquisitiveness in gathering and using information. For a journalist, only that information which he personally manages to obtain is of genuine value. I emphasize: manages to obtain.

I dare say that any aid in the gathering of material may turn against the journalist and his paper. What do I mean by this? This may appear strange, but in a quarter of a century of my journalistic practice, I have rarely been barred from sources of information. Quite often, however, attempts have been made to please me with superfluous information. And this information, as I have learned many a time, was much more dangerous for both me and my newspaper, for it has most often been the "trustworthy" kind, obscuring and obliterating the actual facts of the case. Therefore, that is why I am finally opposed to all kinds of press conferences and sessions.

I don't intend to woo anybody. Simply, if I really wanted to, and if I consistently pursued by objectives, sparing no pains, I always succeeded in obtaining the information necessary for the article, report or column. I suppose that also in this lies the charm and sense of our profession. I stress: profession. Gathering, and, most often, managing to obtain information is a priori inherent in our journalistic profession.

I regret to say that for a certain period of time I have been observing a disturbing occurrence: the degeneration of journalistic obligations. This manifests itself, among other things, in the lessening of respect towards the basic stage of a journalist's work, namely, the gathering of material. In consternation do I read interminable reports in which the authors research the innermost recesses of the human soul, while at the same time committing errors in names and places and distorting facts. With horror do I read discussions on the theme, whether for the sake of artistic truth the reporter has the right to put words into a character's mouth which were never actually said. Where does all this lead us?

And the next problem: taking the easy way out. Many colleagues, including the young ones who are taking their first steps in our profession are firmly convinced that material should practically fall onto their desks by itself; already prepared. My dear directors, chiefs and secretaries! That is for sure. The only question is, what kind of information? The problem is not that one doesn't want to inform the journalists, but how he wants to inform them.

The only way for each of us to obtain valuable, genuine information is through hard, daily toil. What has become of those times when disguised reporters working as liquidators with PZU (State Insurance Institution) or as employees of matrimonial agencies, etc., dug up extraordinarily valuable material for their use as strongly-documented exposes in their publications? Excuse me, I know such a man, none other than last year's J. Bruno prizewinner, Janusz Niczyporowicz from Bialostock KONTRASTY. Perhaps he is the last of the Mohicans.

The discontent of our colleagues, both elder and younger, who as they say, "write poorly because they had no access to the sources of information," irritates me. After all, this contradicts the essence of the journalists' profession. And if they expect that the Council of Ministers' decree will

one day place a flood of information on their desks, they will soon be sorely disappointed. The decree is not a magic antidote against laziness, against taking the easy way out, against lack of ambition, persistence and an inquisitive nature.

I would, therefore, advise a great many colleagues to firmly set about working instead of awaiting the decree's salutary effects. And if anybody really denies them access to information they could refer to that important legislative act and avail themselves of its benefits.

Jacek Maziarski, POLITYKA

I do not attempt to minimize the significance of the new legislative act which at last regulating journalists' access to information, nevertheless, in my opinion, the issues we confront here transcend simple legalities. For this is a matter of custom, culture, collective psychology and, no less important, of politics. To employ a comparison, if the decree is a sort of bowl, the quality of soup one finds in it will depend on one's sources and on their good will, habits and sense of responsibility towards society. One cannot enforce such behavior by legal means. After all, how can one enforce good will?

It is still too early to evaluate the decree's functioning, much less to expect any far-reaching changes. These latter depend, in my opinion, on habit, the formation of which requires time. However, I would not like to evaluate this document pessimistically. It serves as an inspiration for other activity. I mean the activities of party organs in particular. It should also stimulate the journalists' decisiveness in their struggle to champion this socially crucial right which is linked with the activities of the mass media.

I believe that the very existence of the Council of Ministers' decree will have a positive influence on the climate of the relationship between the informants and the informed. Thus far, that climate has been characterized by a peculiar helplessness on the part of the journalist, who often has been unable to elicit essential and full information from his sources. I do not believe, however, that a journalist, armed with the decree, will automatically obtain information of better quality and value. Nonetheless, however, the new legislative act increases slightly his chances of doing so.

One cannot expect that informants who hold positions of responsibility in institutions or in other areas of public life would be eager to lay bare their own deficiencies; it is better to get rid of such illusions right now. The decree is not a magic key; it can, at very best, act in a round-about way, gradually and on a limited scale.

Krzysztof Kraus, ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE

I appreciate the significance of legislative acts, but it seems to me that, sometimes, we believe too much in the miraculous might of the letter of the law and of administrative enterprises. Regulations, naturally, can make

things easier or harder. The February decree of the Council of Ministers, if implemented, should make access to information easier for journalists and should eliminate nonsensical obstacles. As I perceive it, the essence of the matter lies in the journalist's position and authority and in what he had to offer to society.

If a journalist acquits himself of his social function, he meets with help and support from the people he reaches, and, above all, from the active party members. I can say from my personal experience that even before the Politburo's decree and the Council of Ministers decision on that issue, the party organs had a sympathetic approach to the press and that they were looking forward to the journalist's cooperation in resolving problems which they encounter in their work.

It seems to me, that even now, regardless of all political declarations and legislative acts, supporting the journalist in his "search for truth," achieving this objective depends, above all, on his attitude toward his work. The answer to the fundamental question: To what extent is the journalist willing to accurately and honestly fulfill the role of a representative of public opinion? is crucial. I do not want to create fireworks or make headlines and vulgar sensations, which attain cheap popularity; but rather I want to consider actual essential social problems.

The moment a journalist gets involved with senseless issues or even with such matters that may cause social harm, regardless of any legislative regulations, he will be closed off from important sources. It happens, that a press representative, due to his ignorance, gets involved in building "little monuments" to various notables. Such a person is like by certain circles and is readily given access to information.

This kind of indiscriminate flatterer who is careless about reality, or a journalist who becomes implicated in an affair subjecting him to ridicule (generally, journalism is not an anonymous profession) is barred access to those sources which treat the press seriously.

Sometimes matters compromising a journalist in the eyes of his readers and barring his access to serious sources are connected with certain material circumstances. Thus, frequently, in publishing houses or in workers' councils for example, the matter of distributing vacations to resorts causes the argument: a journalist will manage to arrange it for himself, a journalist has connections....

Well, and it so happens that more than one journalist takes advantage of the kindness of mighty protectors who have these resorts at their disposal and who are willing to do a favor. But no one thinks about the probability of a conflict arising between the journalist's social functions and his morals. Sometimes, it may be necessary to criticize a person who did one a favor, or to criticize "his" institution. The journalist's hands are tied. Even if he does touch the matter, he would not do it as he should.

Obviously, moral resistance depends on the person and on the demands he places on himself. It seems to me, however, that at least in such matters as resorts or sanatoriums, the publishing houses and journalists' associations should protect us against unfair positions.

However, the matter I touched upon is indirectly linked to the Council of Ministers' decree in January of this year. Nevertheless, I would like to stress its importance, especially since I have the impression that lately, in many editorial offices, it is as if the moral criteria used in evaluating people are given secondary importance. The "cult of professionalism" is dominant. True, it is necessary, but professionalism should not be the only criterion. Our circle is small; it should not be difficult to find a sufficient number of journalists who would meet the requirement of both professional competence and morality.

Franciszek Nasinski, DZIENNIK LUDOWY

I think that it is too early to express an opinion on the subject of the Council of Ministers' decree No 19, concerning the further improvement of information for mass-media, which actually means information for the journalists. I, personally, have not noticed any changes, positive or negative, regarding the contacts with my sources, since the decree has been published.

Actually, I regard legislative regulations as having no crucial importance for the issue of information. The decisive factor is the model of the relationship with the press, accepted and suggested by the "top echelon's" procedures. That is why my appraisal of the decree's decisions is made with restraint. It does not substantially change the still obligatory legal system here; neither does it interfere with the obligatory political principles or with the prevalent customs, social and moral norms.

Point 2, paragraph 2 of the decree states that: "The body of information released to journalists comprises news and materials which are not state and official secrets." Such a limitation must exist in a document of that rank.

Point 4, paragraph 3 recommends that the organs of state administration and officers of institutions and plants initiate meetings with journalists. However, the routine press conference is a rarity. When did a chief of the department of foreign trade or metallurgy speak with journalists? Will the decree induce our potential sources to hold such meetings? I doubt it.

If anyone agrees to speak with a journalist, he is generally doing so because he wants to win the journalist over to his own views and opinions. It is worse, if he were to consciously try to use the press as a mouthpiece and the journalist as means of suppressing inconvenient opposing parties. Such battles do take place. The journalist often lends a hand to them, but one cannot blame him since he "knows not what he does." I do not

know of a single case of conscious participation in such a battle, except those which are not worth mentioning. As a rule, journalists obtain information from the executive body, and it is they with whom the journalists deal. In Poland, members of the executive body are good competitors. They can size up the state of the journalist's interest and unerringly evaluate whether they can get rid of him or not. In the latter case, they of course enter into a "sincere and unlimited" conversation correctly assuming that if they did not, the journalist, if he has the chance, would make use of information given him by other competitive sources. Or he will take it upon himself to find that assistant to the director who has a sincere desire to become director.

I would like to express with complete sincerity my views on the question. Neither the representatives of the government administration, nor the captains of our economy surprise me with their desire to keep their contact with the press to the absolute minimum. Our potential informants know that the journalists represent public opinion, and this means they assume that the press is an instrument of public control. That is, for "special cases," the journalist is not a mouthpiece of propaganda for his source. However, to summarize, I consider the publication of the decree beneficial because, truthfully speaking, for the first time there is now something to refer to. Besides, I consider the decree beneficial, for lately the sources of information have begun to dry up noticeably. Personally, I have not felt this as painfully, being as I am like an old boar who follows his own beaten path to feast at the watering hole. Therefore, I place great importance on personal relationships with sources. Taken into account here is also mutual trust, so that "my" source would be sure that he would not be taken for a ride.

9141

CSO: 2600

CONFERENCE SPEAKERS HIT MANAGEMENT SHORTCOMINGS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Jul 78 pp 5-6

[Speeches by representatives at the Workers Self-Government Conference, 4 Jul 78]

[Excerpts] Comrade Jozefa Niemczyk, the forewoman of a spinning-machine unit at the Andrychow Cotton Plant, Voivodship of Bielsko-Bialy:

I am a member of the ZSMP [Socialist Union of Polish Youth], fulfill the function of the forewoman of a spinning-machine unit and for 8 years I have been a member of the workers self-government.

A good employee, a coadministrator of one's own working place will try to utilize raw materials maximally. He will see to it that from every kilogram of cotton the maximum quantity of yarn will be produced and waste will be limited to a minimum. It is the business not merely of the foreman, manager or director, but of the entire staff.

A change of plan in the course of its realization is a problem which self-government cannot always manage. A plan constitutes a peculiar agreement between the staff and its supervisor. This is a bilateral commitment, namely, of the staff that it will carry out the assumed tasks, and of the higher authorities that they will ensure the necessary conditions for it. It may happen, and everybody understands this, that for a very important reason some index has to be corrected. However, this must not take place too often, since it causes serious perturbations, interrupts the regularity of production.

Exercising social control, we pay too little attention to the implementation of the staff's proposals and postulates. Some proposals wait in vain for their implementation. This weakens the authority of self-government.

The members of the workers self-government must feel that they are not alone, but that by representing the interest of the staff they are carrying out the social and economic policy of their enterprise. In periods between sessions, workers self-government must show greater activity.

We must fulfill the functions of coadministration and social control.

Comrade Ryszard Walas, a foreman at the district enterprise of the meat industry in Bialystok:

After discussing the self-government's activities in the enterprise, Comrade Walas stated: Adequate provision of the market is the task of all working places. This concerns food industry in the first place, including also our enterprise. Slaughter animals produced in agriculture are raw material for our production. Our production results depend on the supplies of slaughter animals. We have undertaken a step to bring the producers of slaughter animals closer to the meat industry. We have started large-scale cooperation with the specialized farms of four communities of our region. The experience we gain will permit us to work out a model of cooperation on industry with agriculture.

By our experience we know that workers self-government fulfills an important role in the coadministration of a plant. In this connection some suggestions and proposals are coming to light.

First, it would be advisable to extend the competence of workers self-government in matters regarding wages. The important point is to apply an elastic system of remuneration within the framework of wage limits in the plant -- with the consent of the self-government. To enable the people who work best to earn more than those who work less productively.

Secondly, we postulate introducing, with the purchase prices of slaughter animals going up, more effective incentives encouraging prompt supplies of slaughter animals by farmers. This is of fundamental importance for regular functioning of the plant.

Thirdly, there are difficulties in the increase of production arising from the lack of certain installations and equipment in our country. Should we not make it possible for enterprises, especially for those which export their produce, to buy some installations and equipment abroad?

Fourthly, I consider that our supervisors should react quicker to the suggestions and proposals put forward by the organs of workers self-government.

Comrade Zofia Rutecka, commodity expert at the Voivodship Internal Trade Enterprise in Nowy Sacz:

After discussing the achievements obtained in the course of socialist competition by the trade posts of the Voivodship of Nowy Sacz, Comrade Rutecka stated:

The system of moral distinctions plays a great role in inspiring the social and professional activity of our staff. The important point is to emphasize the merits not only of outstanding collectives, but also of particular people. The active members of our social and political life attach great

importance to these matters. Also the application of financial distinctions is an important element which helps to obtain good results in work.

The possibility of applying material incentives in the form of bonuses was created by the economic and financial system introduced into trade in 1973. It seems that in this field one could go further, leaving some financial resources to the disposal of the store or service station manager for distribution among the staff members, upon the condition that the fixed economic tasks be carried out.

It follows from our Nowy Sacz experience that the greater the degree of acquaintance with the plans and projects of the enterprise at its lowest echelons, the greater are the changes of discharging activity, initiative and the feeling of responsibility for the results of the entire enterprise. Up till now the role of the popularizer of tasks and projects in trade enterprises has been fulfilled mainly by party and union cells.

I think that it is time for the department and our trade union branch to work out the concept of strengthening workers self-government in trade and service enterprises. It is worth while to collect and put to good use the experience both of industry and of the economic conferences held up till now in state enterprises as well as in cooperative enterprises where social self-governments are functioning.

Allow me to avail myself of the opportunity to make an appeal to the comrades from the plants producing commodities for the market for making regular supplies of merchandise agreed upon and that these be of the best possible quality.

Comrade Stanislaw Kucharski, member of the Plant Council Presidium at the Transportation Equipment Plant of Mielec, Voivodship of Rzeszow:

Our 20,000 workers have had experience which counts in the extension of the participation of workers in the decisions concerning the plant's social and production life as a whole. For 5 years we have been carrying into effect the system under the name of Workers Decision the essence of which is that the entire personnel participates in making decisions on matters concerning both the plant in general and its departments in particular.

Within this system we have been paying particular attention to increasing the effectiveness of farming, to lowering the costs of manufacturing and to raising the quality of production. The effect of this action, among other things, is the development of modern technological processes of manufacturing, the saving of materials, chiefly of color, energy and fuel materials. As a result of the initiative of our workers in the first half of this year we have implemented over 500 rationalized projects which have brought 10 million zloyts of savings.

We have developed an efficient system of transferring the decisions of the Workers Self-Government Conference [WS-GC] to particular working gangs.

Among other things, we consult the opinion of experienced workers and leading collectives on the forms and methods of raising the quality and efficiency of farming. Manufacturing councils, which have won very high esteem and authority in the opinion of the employees, are the level of this general consultation with the staff.

This raises the esteem and authority of consultations, making real participation of workers collectives in undertaking decisions on the vital matters of the department and its staff possible. The staff of my department as well as that of the entire enterprise places particularly high value on the fact that all personnel and vital social decisions -- the distribution of apartments, bonuses, awards and distinctions -- are carried out at the lowest echelons of workers self-government.

Despite unquestionable attainments in the work of our workers self-government, we realize that it is necessary to mobilize further reserves of social activity to improve its action. Not always, however, does the supervisor understand the role of the WS-GC in this way. It happens that changes are made in production plans without coordination with the WS-GC beforehand. Hence we see a need for tightening the contacts between the WS-GC and the supervisor before decisions are made. We hope that this purpose will be served by the councils of WS-GC representatives at the union level provided in the guidelines of the Political Bureau. The activity forms of the workers self-government worked out at our plant have become a school of socialist democracy, cooperation and joint decisionmaking for the enterprise.

I wish to inform you, Comrade First Secretary of the Central Committee, that, as a result of your inspiring visit with us at the plant, our personnel, together with the technical engineering staff, undertook in September 1976 to develop and produce an agricultural M-18 piston aircraft of medium lift. We have already started serial production of this aircraft characterized by the highest parameters of quality and technology which warrant its sales on foreign markets.

Comrade Tadeusz Czubak, a driver, the first secretary of the primary party organization of the PZPR at the Transbud Transportation-Equipment Enterprise in Radom:

I am a driver at the Transportation-Equipment Construction Enterprise in Radom and should like to describe the weaknesses which lower the social and economic effects of our work.

In truth, there are no detailed statistics of the time losses due to bad discipline at construction sites, but I consider that on some of them they amount to 25 almost percent. There are constructions where work starts a half-hour or an hour late. The breakfast stops last up to an hour, and a construction site is left at least half an hour earlier.

As a Transhub driver, I am at construction sites every day. It happens that when I arrive with material at a construction site, there is no one to unload it. Another important problem is consumption of alcohol. Incidents happen where carts do not start out for work because the drivers are still suffering from the night before, also because the crane or the bulldozer operator is not allowed to work by the foreman or head foreman.

In our enterprise, we have declared ruthless war against these practices. In our enterprise there is no room for the drivers and operators who do not appreciate their own time or do not handle with care the equipment they have been entrusted with.

Labor discipline must be finding on everybody, not only on us drivers or construction workers, but also on those who serve us. Our hearts tremble sometimes when we have to arrange something at the administration. We have to wait it out, as they say. Hence losses of working time, of people and equipment ensue.

A significant item in the balance of wasted time is due to absenteeism on account of illnesses. People are sick and this is normal, but some people have already become specialists in being sick. For them, the best time to be sick is on weekends. Then, in accordance with the regulations, an average remuneration is received for all the days, including Sunday, for which the healthy ones receive no daily wages. In this way one can make money on illness, and there is no shortage of crafty rascals.

We, the construction workers, often work on days-off, on Saturdays and Sundays. This is a matter of course for us because the need for apartments is enormous, but we cannot agree to the organization of work on free Saturdays and Sundays while on Wednesdays and Thursdays construction work halts for the lack of lining, glue, paints or other construction materials. This is often due to organizational slackening.

At fault also, is the coordination and organization of the work of people and equipment. It happens that it is impossible to work on one construction because of the lack of a crane which is idling at another site. I am also thinking about the problem of corrective jobs. The correction of what has already been done before means after all an additional consumption of materials, an absorption of people who should be working on other constructions.

I do not speak of plusses because they prevail after all. It is they that decide, in spite of shortcomings, strains and difficulties, that we carry out the housing program in our voivodship according to regulations. With how much greater success it could be executed if time economy could be improved.

More attention should be devoted to these problems at the next WS-GC's. Not only the problems connected with the plan and technical resources, but above all the attitudes of people should become a matter of discussion.

9099

CSO: 2600

POLAND

BRIEFS

CITIZENS' MILITIA--Another operation against automobile thieves was carried out on a country-wide scale. Functionaries of the Citizen's Militia [MO] inspected over 95,000 vehicles and over 6,000 workshops and automobile sales lots. As a result of this well organized and efficiently executed operation, 151 vehicles which were sought were found and 106 persons suspected of having carried out their theft were detained. It should be added that last year the functionaries of the MO recovered over 1,300 stolen automobiles. [Excerpt] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jul 78 p 4]

CSO: 2600

STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL STATE RECALLED

Bucharest MAGAZIN ISTORIC in Romanian Jun 78 pp 33-37

[Part three of article by Gheorghe Zaharia. For Part I of this article, please see JPRS 71329, 20 June 1978, No. 1549 of this series, pp 130-138; for Part II see JPRS 71509, 20 July 1978, No. 1566 of this series, pp 107-114]

[Text] The war had created conditions propitious for the full realization of the Romanian people's goals for unity, as an outcome of the forceful social convulsions which occurred in both belligerent camps.

The war had sharpened the internal contradictions of the belligerents, especially inside the multinational empires. The triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution enabled the peoples in Russia's periphereal areas to chose their own path, as advocated by Lening again in April 1917: "....Immediate achievement of full freedom for all the nations and peoples oppressed by tsarism, integrated by force or kept by force in the borders of the state, that is annexed" (V. I. Lenin, Complete Works, Vol 31, p 169).

The revolutionary ferment in Russia was a powerful incentive for the peoples in Europe and Asia that were fighting to achieve their goals of national freedom and social progress. The national revolutionary-democratic movement on the territory between the Prut and Nistru, designated by tsarists as Bessarabia, developed concurrently with the cores of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Russia, rebuilt or created in March-April 1917. However -- as stated in surveys of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic -- in spite of the assistance received from the central Soviet authorities, the relation of forces was not favorable to the Chisinau Soviet, which on 1/14 January 1918 proclaimed Soviet power. The national-revolutionary bourgeois-democratic movement of the Romanians had formed freely elected representative organs, inclusive of central organs, proportionally embracing all social sections and all nationalities (105 Romanians, 15 Ukrainians, 14 Jews, 7 Russians, 2 Germans, 2 Bulgarians, 2 Gagauzs, 1 Pole, and 1 Greek). This central organ, supported by large grass roots made up of peasants and intellectuals, in January 1918 proclaimed the independent

Moldavian Republic, which by the vote of the great majority of the elected representatives of the population (86 out of 125 present, that is 68.80 percent, voted for; 3, representing 2.40 percent, against; 36, respectively 28.80 percent, abstained), merged with Romania on 27 March 1918.

By the signing, in March 1918, of peace between Soviet Russia and the Central Powers, Romania remained alone on the Eastern Front. Under these conditions, she was compelled to sign, on 7 May 1918, a burdening peace treaty with the Central Powers, for the purpose of maintaining the statal-national entity of Romania. Following the victorious military operations on the Southern Front of the Entente, the Romanian government denounced the treaty, which had not even been ratified. In November, the Romanian army reentered the fight against the Central Powers, an act requested and later hailed by the Entente, which renewed its commitment regarding the national goals of the Romanian people.

The new victories of the Entente encouraged the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples in Austria-Hungary. Under the impact of the great revolutionary movements for national liberation and for social-bourgeois transformations of Poles, Romanians, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Serbs, Croats, and Hungarians, the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed. Independent national states emerged on its ruins.

In this context, on 28 November 1918, the elected representatives of the population in the northern part of Moldavia, Bucovina, in their turn, decided on union with Romania. Three days later, on 1 December 1918, in the presence of more than 100,000 people, the Grand Assembly of Alba Iulia, formed of 1228 elected delegates, among them political personalities and leaders of the national movement, including 150 delegates of the Romanian social-democracy of Transylvania, decided on Transylvania's union with the Land. By its unanimous vote it confirmed the completion of the process for the creation of the unified Romanian national state, almost within the borders of ancient Dacia.

This was the exact realization of the assessment made 30 years before by F. Engels in his letter to the Romanian socialist Ion Nadejde, that as long as the two big oppressing powers, tsarist Russia and Austro-Hungary, exist, the problem of the Romanians and of the other oppressed people, will not be resolved, and that the defeat of one of these big powers and the victory of the other would also be a constant danger to Romanian statehood itself. "The collapse of tsarism, the destruction of this nightmare which oppresses all of Europe, is, in our opinion, the prerequisite for the development of the nations in mid and eastern Europe."

In reference to the just act of completing the unity of the national state, the Provisional Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and of the General Provisional Commission of Trade Unions in Romania indicated in the statement endorsed in February 1919: "The Romanian provinces subjugated by other nations could not remain

outside this transformation. Mostly inhabited by a Romanian population oppressed for centuries by foreign rule and thus hampered in their economic, political, and cultural development, these provinces liberated themselves from this rule and became free. In the context of the nations' right to self-determination, a principle recognized by all international socialism, the Romanians in the subjugated territories, by the decisions of their grand national assemblies, expressed their will to unite with Romania on the strength of the resolutions voted. As Romanian internationalist socialists we gladly hail the national emancipation of the Romanian people in the provinces which were subjugated so far and respect the vows for union decided upon. The new Romania of today must become the socialist Romania of tomorrow."

The plebiscite nature of the decisions on union, the content identity of the planks of the Romanians' national-revolutionary movements, and the composition of the participating social forces in this struggle illustrated and confirmed their unified goals and common ideal. The will very clearly voiced by the Romanian people and the heavy sacrifices on the battle front required the big powers of the Entente to recognize, in the 1919 and 1920 peace treaties concluded in Paris, the act carried out by the mass of the people. The Romanian nation, which had resolved its destiny by its vigorous acts, had confronted the European powers, in 1918, the same as in 1859, with the accomplished fact.

Reviewing the array of the political and military efforts of the Romanian people in the course of 2000 years, under the leadership of wise and brave state leaders and army commanders, for the restoration of state unity and independence, the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party Nicolae Ceausescu stated: "Others continued what the princes could not achieve during the period involved: in 1848, in 1859, in 1877, in 1918 and by the unanimous will of the people the unity of our national state was achieved. It was not the result of any peace treaty, it was not the will of an outside power. Union was the result of the will of the Romanian people, desirous of freedom and independence."

The peace treaties only provided international recognition of the historical decisions of the Romanian people, who at that time had carried out the most significant action of their history.

A New Stage

The completion of the process for the formation of the Romanian unified national state was an epoch-making event in the history of this country which entered a new stage of its historical development. At the end of 1922, within its borders were 16.5 million people, with Romanians in overwhelming majority (74 percent) and the rest, coinhabiting nationalities.

Unified Romania was confronted with a number of important issues on which its subsequent development depended. Domestically, they involved economic rehabilitation and the provision of conditions for the growth of the productive forces and the carrying out of bourgeois-democratic social and political reforms.

The subsequent processes generated changes in the social structure and the relation of social forces. The working class, the most advanced force of society, more and more vigorously asserted itself in the context of the overall radicalization of the broad mass of the people. An outstanding episode in the history of the development of the working-class movement involved the countrywide unification of the workin-class party, at the great Congress in May 1921, when it was named the Communist Party of Romania.

The bourgeoisie strengthened its positions in the state, though group interests generated many shifts and regroupings in its political parties. It is significant that in the forefront in the country's political scene was the National Liberal Party, followed by the National Peasant Party*, formed after the 1921 merger of the Peasant Party of the old kingdom with the Peasant Party of Bessarabia and, in October 1926, with the Romanian National Party of Transylvania.

As a result of the political rights recognized for the coinhabiting nationalities, parties of these nationalities also were active in the country's political scene. They included the Magyar Party, the German Party, the Jewish Party, and others parties and predominantly represented the interests of the bourgeoisie of these nationalities.

During the last decade of March 1923 a new constitution was adopted, one with a bourgeois-democratic character. This Constitution was precisely required by the economic, social, and political changes which had occurred in Romania and which could not disregard -- of course in the context of the capitalist society -- the great pressures exerted, especially in the decades of the 20th century and after the war, in the country's life, by the struggle of the people's mass for justice and freedom. The new Constitution proclaimed the unified character of the Romanian independent and sovereign state, the equality of all citizens in face of the law, regardless of their ethnic origin, mother tongue, religion or social status, also the universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot, the freedom of organization, the freedom of expression at meetings and freedom of the press, and so on.

* MAGAZIN ISTORIC, No 5/1973

In the area of foreign policy, the focus was on the issue of consolidating the postwar status quo, by ensuring the territorial integrity, national independence and sovereignty. This had become a cardinal issue because immediately after World War I, the most reactionary forces of the bourgeoisie in various countries conducted activities for suppressing the tide of the working class struggles and resorted to the establishment of strong-arm or fascist regimes, to the furtherance of a revenge-seeking policy, a policy of territorial revisions. For instance, after the repessions in Germany and Hungary, the fascist-type Horthy regime was established in Hungary (1920). In 1922, the fascist regime under Benito Mussolini's leadership was established in Italy. A monarcho-fascist regime was established in Bulgaria in 1923. A fascist dictatorship was established in Portugal and a military dictatorship in Poland in 1926.

In resolving Romania's basic problems which affected all classes and social segments, two fundamental concepts were manifested: of the bourgeoisie and of the parties which represented it; and on the other hand, the concept of the working class, of the revolutionary movement, and of other social groups and political forces with leftist, democratic, and progressive views.

The state power, regardless of the parties in government, evolved within the framework of bourgeois parliamentary democratism. However, it was characterized by the gradual limitation of the worker-peasant masses' right to make use of the constitutional civil freedoms. This heightened the internal contradictions and especially the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The progressive forces, headed by the communist party, requested the resolution of the major social-economic and political problems in the spirit of broad democracy, with the support and in the interest of all the people. Taking the firm stand against some chauvinistic circles, which pursued the limitation of the rights of coinhabiting nationalities, they campaigned for full equality of rights, regardless of nationality, for all the country's citizens. In the area of foreign policy, the Romanian Communist Party campaigned for peace among peoples, based on the principle of equity and mutual respect. At the May 1921 Congress, the resolve was voiced "to wage a relentless struggle, alongside the communist parties the world over, for the emancipation of the proletariat," to fight against the wars waged by the imperialist and revisionist states "for purposes of plunder, looting, and subjugation."

On this domestic political basis and within the overall framework of interbellum international relations, the great majority of the Romanian bourgeoisie and of its political parties, in the area of foreign policy, orientated themselves toward agreements which should

ensure conditions of peace and security to the Romanian state by preserving the postwar territorial status quo, agreements politically and morally guaranteed by France and Great Britain. Exceptions from these dominant trends involved the small groups represented by political formations with extreme rightist views, such as the League of National-Christian Defence, the Legion of Archangel Michael (which later became the Iron Guard), which were orientated toward the fascist states.

Sharing the view that medium-size and small countries can play a significant role in the process of peace and security, Romanian diplomacy was involved in this activity, cooperating with all the states, regardless of their size, on the basis of equality and mutual respect for territorial integrity and national sovereignty. The fact that, immediately after the conclusion of the peace treaties, some ruling circles of the big powers -- in the first place, those in England and France -- showed their willingness, in exchange for economic advantages accepted by some countries concerned in the revision of the postwar borders, to admit changes in the territorial status quo to the detriment of the states which had attained their legitimate national goals (Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia) required Romanian diplomacy -- the same as in the past -- to take account of realities and not let itself become involved in ventures which would have harmed Romania's relations with its neighbors. For instance, in spite of the class concepts and limitations of the ruling circles, Romania rejected the proposals of the big Western imperialist powers to support the aggression of Polish reaction against Soviet Russia and replied positively to the latter's proposals to clarify Romanian-Soviet relations on the basis of negotiations. For the same purpose, that of maintaining the postwar territorial status quo, Romania joined the League of Nations Pact (28 June 1919). Under this pact, Romania concluded a treaty with Poland (3 March 1921, renewed in 1926 and 1931); with Czechoslovakia (23 April 1921), and with Yugoslavia (7 June 1921), which laid the groundwork for the regional defensive organization, the Small Entente; with France (10 June 1926) and Italy (16 September 1926; in 1928 Romania signed a treaty with Greece (12 March) and acceded to the Briand Kellogg pact (4 September) and the Moscow Protocol (9 February 1929) for the immediate implementation of the pact by the Soviet Union and some of its neighboring states. The last two international law documents were hailed with great satisfaction by democratic parties and political personalities, by public opinion in Romania, who assessed them as factors of worldwide importance "in the struggle waged to establish peace among the civilized peoples," meant to "eliminate war in resolving conflicts." At the ratification, in February 1929, of the Moscow Protocol, foreign minister G. G. Mironescu stated that "Romania is ready at any time, with full conviction, and all forces, to support the international moves which are designed to

strengthen in the world the security of states and peace among nations." In 1931 and 1932, Romanian diplomacy conducted negotiations with representatives of Soviet diplomacy for the conclusion of a Romanian-Soviet non-aggression pact. This failed because of the condition set by the Soviet side to the effect of including a clause in the pact which would state the existence of territorial differences between the two negotiating sides.

For Collective Security

The efforts of Romanian diplomacy during the first 10 years after the war resulted in a few political instruments for guaranteeing Romania's security in a more or less broad context. However, these results did not equal the efforts made, because of the numerous international contradictions (many of them involving Romania as a subject of imperialist and revisionist disputes), internal social convulsions, all amplified in the years of the world economic crisis of 1929-1933.

While Great Britain and France, rivals on the issue of hegemony over Europe, conducted sterile discussions on the relation between security and disarmament, in October 1931, Japan attacked China and kindled the first hotbed of war in the Far East. Another hotbed was looming in Central Europe as a result of the coming to power of the Hitler regime in Germany, on 30 January 1933. At that time, the Western big powers, which had assumed the role of main guarantors of peace, provided the world, by their continuous quarrels, with "the spectacle of a political bankruptcy."

The peoples' independence and freedom were threatened by a great danger. In the first place the danger involved the countries of Central, Eastern, and South-Eastern Europe. The victory of Nazism in Germany soon gave a new course to international politics, with the most serious consequences for the German people themselves, and for world peace and world civilization. The course of events required all patriotic parties, groups, and personalities to fight against the onslaught of foreign monopolies, especially against Nazi imperialism and its domestic agency, the Iron Guard, and for the safeguard of the country's freedom and independence. The stand on this issue was the keynote of Romanian political life and generated significant shifts and regroupings of the country's social-political forces, an active involvement in the international political life and in actions meant to ensure the postwar status quo, peace and collective security in Europe, with Romania even being the initiator of such actions.

While continuing the traditional ties with France and England, the Romanian ruling circles did not join all the political and diplomatic moves of these powers. More than once they protested against the concessions which some governments of Western powers made to the

fascist and revisionist states. Against the actions of the pro-Hitler groups, Romanian diplomacy made efforts to strengthen the ties with France and with Romania's neighbors and regarded the cooperation of states in South-Eastern Europe as one of the factors for checking the Reich's expansion. It campaigned for the strengthening of regional pacts -- the Small Entente and the Balkan Entente -- for the purpose of reinforcing peace in Central, Eastern, and South-Eastern Europe, in the Danube and Black Sea areas.

Romanian diplomacy inferred that the policy of collective security in Europe could acquire consistency and a sound basis for the guaranteeing of the territorial status quo through a policy of understanding with the Soviet Union. Hence, it supported the definition of the aggressor, proposed by the Soviet Union, supplemented -- on Romania's initiative -- with the definition of the territory of states, with Romania being one of the first signatories to the convention concluded in London in 1933. In accordance with this convention, no political, economic, or military consideration entitled any state to violate the territory of another state with the armed force and "ensured to all peoples the inviolability of the territory of their countries," that is of the territory "over which a state actually exercises its authority."

In June 1934, Romania firmly supported the Soviet Union's joining the League of Nations and was among the signatories to the invitation addressed to the Soviet state. The Soviet government pledged on this occasion "to meet all the international obligations and observe all the decisions which are binding for the members, in accordance with Article 1 of the Pact of the League of Nations." In the same year and the same month, diplomatic relations were established between the two states, which were inaugurated by an agreement that contained firm commitments of mutual guarantee of observance of national sovereignty and independence.

In the same area of concerns for overall peace and the ensuring of the territorial status quo, Romania and the other states of the Small Entente, in December 1934, acceded to the Rio de Janeiro Nonaggression and Conciliation Pact, also known as the Saavedra Lamas Pact, named for its author, the foreign minister of Argentina.

Aware as it was of the potential danger spelled by Hitler Germany to Romania and realizing that it could not expect England to give it urgent and effective assistance, in July 1935 the Romanian government decided to authorize foreign minister Nicolae Titulescu to take the required steps for the conclusion of a mutual assistance pact with the Soviet Union. A fervent supporter of the policy for security, based on multilateral coalitions, N. Titulescu placed great emphasis on the conclusion of this treaty: "I have always been and will be also in the future in favor of a mutual assistance

pact with the USSR," he said "as long as that country will pursue a policy of peace and friendship among nations which it has been pursuing in recent years. Romania needs this treaty, either if Germany starts a war against the Soviet Union, or if it reaches agreement with that country. Moreover, the Romanian-Russian mutual assistance treaty and pact must be concluded at the time propitious for Romania. Otherwise, the Russo-German rapprochement will occur without us, hence against us, as I stated before. Consequently, the Russo-German rapprochement must find us as allies of the USSR."

N. Titulescu strongly felt that in having such a pact Romania made sure to have a powerful ally, capable of granting it effective aid in the case of an aggression from the fascist states. He believed that in the case of an understanding between the USSR and Germany, Romania would be protected from territorial revisionist claims.

The tension in the international situation beginning in 1936 resulted in the disintegration of political and military coalitions, the detachment of the states in the Small Entente and the Balkan Entente from the system of alliances they had created for themselves. These states soon became victims of the aggressors, revenge-seekers, and revisionists of the postwar territorial status quo.

In the context of international strain keen disputes arose among the political forces in Romania, with regard to the methods to be used. United by the awareness of the serious dangers to the country's integrity, sovereignty, and independence, many progressive and democratic quarters spoke out for a policy of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, France, Great Britain, the states of the Small Entente and Balkan Entente, against the groups which turned toward the powers of the Fascist Axis. The great majority of the bourgeois political circles, hostile to the Third Reich, afraid of rapprochement with the USSR, tied Romania's foreign and military policy to France and England. Though their commitments, assumed under documents of international law, provided nothing more than a moral guarantee, the Romanian ruling circles nevertheless gave them unjustified and exaggerated trust, for they lacked the will and practical means to counteract any danger to the country's security and the territorial status quo of the other small and medium-size allied states. This was the main shortcoming of the foreign and military policy of the Romanian governments during the interwar period, which resulted in Romania's isolation internationally and its dismemberment in 1940. In fact, this was the result of the precarious peace, which was not at all reinforced or upgraded especially by the big powers, only concerned with their own interests which evolved in the context of acute and many-sided contradictions, which actually generated World War II.

The dramatic events of the subsequent years, marked by the country's dismemberment, in the summer of 1940, and its being pushed into the arms of Nazi Germany were the logical result of the evolution of the

balance of forces in the international scene, which had decisively influenced the domestic political situation. The changes which occurred during World War II restored the unity of action of the nonfascist and anti-Hitler political forces, of all the people. The August 1944 Romanian insurrection, organized on this basis and whose main, initiating and leading force was the Romanian Communist Party, opened up, concurrently with liberation from the sway of Nazi imperialism, the path to consolidating the unity of the Romanian people and Romania's independence and sovereignty.

11710

CSO: 2700

INCOMPATIBILITY OF RELIGION, COMMUNISM STRESSED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Jul 78 pp 1, 3

[Article by Paul Dobrescu: "The Scientific Concept about the World and Life--at the Basis of the Thought and Activity of Each Communist"]

[Excerpts] In the historic process of building a new order, our party has been steadfastly concerned with developing the socialist awareness of the workers, with the formation of the new, educated man, with a progressive awareness, liberated from all social or spiritual fetters--this being an essential requirement and condition for the success of the entire activity of the revolutionary transformation of society.

The socialist awareness is built on science; it has as its foundation the philosophical concept created by the generalization of the most progressive achievements of human thought--dialectical and historical materialism, which offers a scientific explanation for all the phenomena of nature and society, being irreducibly opposed to fideism and to mystical, religious concepts.

In opposition to this, dialectical materialism, demonstrating the material nature of the world and the possibility of knowing it and changing it on the basis of the use of the objective laws of social development, provides men with an accurate and clear historic perspective, gives them confidence in their own forces, and mobilizes them into conscious activity for the transformation of nature and society, in accordance with their interests.

As a result, the formation and development of the socialist awareness imposes as necessary conditions the liberation from all [religious] faith and mystical manifestations, the scientific understanding of social laws in the spirit of dialectical and historical materialism, and confidence in the capacity of man to transform the reality which surrounds him.

The requirement for the formation of firm atheistic-scientific convictions is all the more necessary in the case of Communists. Admission to the ranks of the Communist Party has always been a choice made on the basis of free consent. It takes place on the basis of the pledge of the person

who aspires to the noble title of party member to unceasingly serve the cause of the party, to devote his entire work capacity and strength to implementing the policy of the party, to work and to live as a Communist. No one has obliged anyone and no one will ever oblige anyone to enter the Communist Party. Once this choice has been made, each party member is assigned a number of responsibilities and duties in regard to his behavior and thoughts, which derive from the very role and characteristics of the party, as a revolutionary party of the working class. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed: "Admission to the party is truly a solemn act which should cause a fundamental change in the life of each party member, in the life of each party and state activist. We must act so that all Communists will work and live in a Communist spirit, according to the norms and provisions of the Statute, and the Code of Socialist Ethics and Equity."

As we know, these norms and provisions include the obligation, the duty to master the ideological outlook of the party, dialectical and historical materialism, the struggle against idealistic theories, mystical prejudices, superstitions, and all manifestations of obscurantism. The listing of these obligations in the basic documents of the party--the Program, the Statute, the Code of Ethics--illustrates the fact that their observance is not optional but obligatory, in the light of the essence of the moral profile of the Communist. There is a basic incompatibility between the position as a member of the revolutionary party of the working class, which bases its entire activity on the outlook of dialectical and historical materialism and the sharing of mystical, religious convictions. How can communists work for the thorough equipping of the broad masses of workers with the revolutionary philosophical outlook of the party and combat mystical, retrograde ideas and prejudices if they themselves remain tributaries of such ideas?

Demanding that party members consistently take positions of scientific materialism and atheism, the party is also concerned with the education of all workers in this spirit. Of course, our party and state do not prohibit the citizens of the country from having religious convictions. In the spirit of the democratism which characterizes it, our society guarantees to all its members freedom of conscience, as the Constitution provides. Significant in this sense is the fact that our state recognizes 14 cults, does not resort to administrative measures and does not allow any sort of discrimination against citizens because of religious beliefs, and does not interfere in the religious matters of the cults.

In their turn, the cults recognized by the state which have the opportunity to carry on their activity legally, do not interfere in the affairs of the state and do not undertake actions which are contrary to the laws and interests of the Romanian state. An eloquent example of the loyalty of the cults to the socialist state is the fact that they belong to the Socialist Unity Front and that they are represented in the supreme body of state power--the Grand National Assembly.

Thus, it is clear that our society does not endanger the manifestation of freedom of conscience but assures a real freedom of conscience for all its members.

However, freedom of conscience does not mean the adoption of an attitude of indifference, passivity, or a wait and see attitude in regard to fideism or various mystical concepts. On the contrary, while assuring and respecting freedom of conscience, the party and the state are carrying on an intense educational activity for the instilling and generalization of atheistic-scientific convictions in the entire society.

This objective increases in importance in the present period. The success of a technical or technological experiment does not depend on "what God does" but on the observance of technical-scientific norms and the level of professional training. The harvest is not in the hands of supernatural forces but depends on the quality of agrotechnical and irrigation work, just as health depends on the following of medical advice and success in an examination depends on the level of training of the candidate. Today, when the sciences have achieved an unprecedented level of development, when human progress has had such remarkable progress, the persistence of the obscurantistic vestiges of past ages represents, obviously, an anachronism, which is incompatible with the requirements for the development of society and with the requisites for the formation of the new man, the master of his own fate.

Some people have the opinion that in order to fulfill their duties as party members it is sufficient that they do good work and be well trained professionally. The level of awareness required in a party member cannot be evaluated only on the basis of these requirements, no matter how important they might be. As a revolutionary political organization, the party accords the greatest importance to the way in which its members think and the extent to which professional knowledge is integrated into the scientific outlook on the world.

In the light of these requirements, one cannot ignore the fact that some party members, irrespective of their field of activity, do not permanently work as active propagandists of the materialistic-scientific concept of the world and life or underestimate or neglect this obligation. More precisely, life shows that there are Communists who, although they have real materialistic convictions, now and then make so-called "concessions" to mystical practices; they minimize them as merely peripheral aspects and consider them "insignificant" in their general behavior. However, to admit this means to admit the contradictions between word and deed, since so-called "concessions," the "passing fancy" outlook in regard to the participation in religious practices or manifestations represent departures from the ideology of the party, deviations from Communist norms. Also, it must not be forgotten that such behavior on the part of party members serves as a bad example

for other workers and promotes and paves the way for the proliferation of obscurantism. It must be clearly understood by everyone that, especially in the present period, in our present stage of development, it is not possible, it is no longer possible to move ahead with such a ballast in the thought and behavior of some party members. Therefore, it is necessary that this be discussed with them thoroughly and that it be explained to them that there is a basic incompatibility between the title of a Communist and participation in practices of a religious nature. In this sense, the party organizations should devote more attention to the solemn moments in the life of the person; they should be concerned with celebrating them in a new social framework, liberated from all mystical connotations; they should ensure the implementation of directives concerning the improvement of the proper forms and organizational framework for such solemnities.

As we know, atheistic propaganda is addressed not only to the intellect but also to the emotions of man. This makes it necessary for this activity to be carried out in a differentiated manner, taking into account the cultural level, the living conditions, and, in a word, the specific characteristics of the social categories at which it is aimed.

Of special importance in atheistic education and in the combatting of mysticism is the strengthening of collective life and of the collegial, comradely support and mutual assistance of persons who work together. It is no secret that some citizens, even some party members, in difficult moments of their lives or of the lives of members of their family are still tempted to believe in mystical forces, to invoke supernatural explanations, instead of adopting a rational attitude, of confidence in their own forces, in the capacity of man for intervention and transformation. Under such conditions, some people sometimes fall victim to different "fortune tellers," "diviners" and other charlatans or to some sects which skillfully utilize such situations by offering assistance--by no means disinterested--which has as a condition membership in the respective sect. Some sects, which urge the rejection of integration in social life, the violation of basic social and civic obligations, which exacerbate religious fanaticism going as far as the cultivation of anti-human practices based on psychological and physical brutality have proven to be a real social danger. Educational work for the annihilation of all influences of these sects, assisting the victims to free themselves from this influence represent important duties for party and public organizations.

The broad process of historic dimensions, the formation of a scientific concept of the world require coordinated action on the part of all factors of responsibility. The party organizations have the obligation to act to modernize and increase the effectiveness of this activity and to fight so that each activist and party member is not only a good propagandist but also a concrete example of socialist work and life.

LEGAL RIGHT TO USE OF PSEUDONYM DISCUSSED

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE DREPT in Romanian May 78 pp 31-33

[Article by Dr Petru P. Andrei, Lecturer--Iasi Law School: "The Present Legal Framework for the Right of Pseudonyms"]

[Text] The dynamic development of all branches of activity in a modern society has brought about corresponding development of the technical-scientific and literary-artistic activities under various forms: books, specialized journals, newspapers, expositions etc.

Often, reasons of a subjective nature cause some authors not to use their own name in the journalistic field that they are in, but rather a fictitious name, a pseudonym.

The right to a pseudonym is protected by law. Art. 54 of Decree No.31/1954 provides for the one who has been wronged in the use of a pseudonym to address himself to the judicial authorities and ask for cessation of the action which infringes on this right.¹ A similar provision is also included in the stipulations of Art. 3 of Decree No.321/1956 regarding an author's rights.

Since it is widely used in today's journalistic activities, the right to a pseudonym now has precise regulation. These circumstances have led us to attempt a more detailed analysis of the right of persons to a pseudonym and to make some proposals of "lege ferenda."

Two general observations must be made right at the start: a) protection of the right to a pseudonym represents an impairment of the general rule of obligation to have a name. As opposed to a name, a pseudonym is a right but it is not an obligation; b) the circumstances under which the general law provides for the protection of a pseudonym and inasmuch as this disposition is repeated in the special law regarding the right of an author allows the conclusion that the right to use a pseudonym is given to those persons who carry out a certain creative activity designed for publicity, individualizing the person with respect to his work, giving him authorship rights and thus having also the characteristics of this right.²

According to the explanatory dictionary of the Romanian language a pseudonym is "a name invented or created under which someone may conceal his true identity, used mostly by authors of literary, artistic etc., creations."³

A pseudonym may be defined as a fictitious name chosen by a person and which gives him a personal uninherited, elective right which sets him apart in society in regard to a certain creative activity brought to public knowledge giving him authorship rights.

A pseudonym differs from an addition to a name by purporting to replace the entire real name.⁴

The definition of this idea imposes the establishment of special characteristics of a pseudonym as well as clarification of certain aspects tied to the acquisition and use of this right.

From the regulation thus defined result the specific legal characteristics of the right to a pseudonym, which are as follows: the fictitious adopted name constitutes a right accorded to a certain category of people in society for purposes of publication; it is a personal right, elective and not to be shared.

These specific characteristics require some explanations.

The right to a pseudonym is accorded only to certain category of people who carry out a certain creative activity brought to the knowledge of the public giving them an authorship right regardless of the area of activity in which it is carried out or the public means use. As a consequence there is nothing to stop an author from using a pseudonym in publicity activities of a technical-scientific nature. In this case we must emphasize that in our opinion the inventor's certificate which may be granted by the State Office for Inventions and Patents, according to Art. 15 of the Law No. 621/1974 as well as the innovator's certificate granted according to Art. 71 of the same law would have to contain the inventor's or innovator's real name and not his pseudonym because these acts protect authorship rights under all its aspects and by their nature they are not designed for publicity.

Thus not just any person may use a pseudonym. Such a freedom given to all categories of citizens would infringe on the principle of compulsoriness of names. Only persons who carry out a creative activity designed for publicity may benefit of the law's special protection.

The use of a pseudonym by a person who carries out such an activity is not obligatory but rather elective. Reasons of a purely personal nature may lead the subject of such a right to use a pseudonym or not. Timidity, the fact that a person has a name that is well-known in society, the existence of a famous creative personality in the same area of activity with the author, the necessity of a name with a different sound for purposes of publicity, etc., all these may constitute subjective reasons which would cause a person to use the right to a pseudonym or not.

The law does not have any restrictions regarding the choice of a pseudonym. From this circumstance we may draw the conclusion that the choice is left to the author. With all these it is normal that this freedom should be restricted by the obligation to respect the name or pseudonym of other persons. In other words given the fact that the use of a pseudonym identifies a person with his work, it has to be chosen in such a way that it should not coincide with the name or pseudonym of another person.

The large-scale use of pseudonyms as well as the comprehensive regulations and the absence of evidence make this choice difficult.

In specialized legal literature and practice different opinions have been voiced regarding the conflicts that can be brought about in relation to the choice and use of a pseudonym.

Thus, one opinion was that "any person using a pseudonym in a certain area has the right to object if another person uses the same pseudonym even in a different area."⁵

In the foreign legal literature there was a different opinion according to which one may recognize the right of a pseudonym owner to continue to use it under the consideration that the activity of the two parties in litigation is not identical, but is in different areas.⁶

We believe that the first point of view expressed is correct. Keeping in mind the fact that any confusion in this area of activity brings prejudices not only to the owner of the pseudonym but to all those who knowing the work of a certain author may be led into error by the use of the same pseudonym by another person even in another area of activity.

As a rule, the identification of the author with his work supposes a long-term use of a pseudonym⁷ but in the silence of the law we share the point of view expressed by C. Stănescu, according to which the right to a pseudonym is acquired simply by using it⁸ and to solve a conflict the right will be given to that person who used a pseudonym first.

The long-term use of a pseudonym under which the work of an author is known may come into conflict with the interests of a person who has the same real name. In such a situation a person might be stopped from publishing his work under his own name. In this case the owner of a pseudonym will not only not be able to request the bearer to use his name but will in the future have to stop using the chosen pseudonym even if this would have been prejudicial.⁹

Another characteristic of pseudonyms is that of publicity.

The right to a pseudonym is obtained by bringing to the public the work of the author. As a consequence, the use of pseudonyms may not be clandestine, secret, but on the contrary the right is obtained only by the public knowing the work under the respective pseudonym.

Publicity can be carried out through any technical medium, through books, magazines, newspapers, exhibitions, recordings, films, radio and television, the law not providing for this.¹⁰ Time of publicity is important as we already have shown also for establishing priority of right over the chosen pseudonym.

We must mention the fact that the history of world literature offers examples in which the same author has used during his activity several pseudonyms. The use of several pseudonyms by the same author is of a nature to create confusions since the author's work could no longer be attributed to one person. This circumstance may constitute a basis for future regulations to limit the author's right to voluntarily change his chosen pseudonym.

Finally, since the right to a pseudonym is a strictly personal right, uninheritable, having also the legal characteristics of authorship, it is untransferrable. As opposed to a name, a pseudonym may not be transmitted through descendants or marriage and even less may it be transmitted through an agreement of the parties.

The use of this right produces effects only from the point of view of publicity individualizing the person in question with respect to his work. The author as a physical personality continues to be individualized in relation to his family and society according to his real name that he has a right to.¹¹

Handing down the rights of a patrimonial character, the execution of all obligations that the person has in society, their individualization is realized through the name that he is obligated to carry in accordance with the rules of common law.

It is true, however, that in reality there is tendency to use pseudonyms in current usage in social life as an element of individualization with the exception of civil status acts, thus indirectly realizing a real change of name.

As in the case of any inherited right, disregard of the right to a pseudonym may also produce litigations with a patrimonial character.

The observations made regarding the right to a pseudonym reveal the fact that the present regulations are insufficient. The problems raised by defining the notion and differentiating it from other similar legal institutions, the choice of a pseudonym, establishing a priority right, proof of priority especially in cases in which the author keeps the secret during his entire life over his publicity activities, all are questions which do not yet have an answer under the present regulations.

These considerations justify the proposal that in future codification the use of pseudonyms should find a more thorough regulation regarding the notion, sphere of application, choice, change and priority over it.

At the same time in order to individualize the person and to establish his rights and those of his decendants and dispel confusion we believe it would not lack interest to include some dispositions regarding registration of pseudonyms either in registries of civil status or as special evidence within unions or professional associations in which the person carries out his activities.

FOOTNOTES

1. This provision is taken up by the Civil Code Project. A similar provision is contained in Art. 479 of the RSFSR Civil Code. The Civil Code of the Hungarian P.R. (Art. 82 and 84), and the Civil Code of the Czechoslovak S.R. (Art. 11-17) give the right to a name and intellectual creativity without any special regulations regarding pseudonyms.
2. See: A. Ionascu "Dreptul de autor in R.S.R." [Author's Rights in Romania] Academy Edition, Buchareat, 1969, p. 56; St. D. Carpenaru, Civil Law, didactical and pedagogical Edition, Bucharest, 1971, p. 44.
3. "Dictionarul explicativ al limbii romane" [Explanatory Dictionary of the Romanian Language] Academy Edition, Bucharest, 1975, p. 757.
4. Art. 179 of the RSFSR Civil Code gives also right to anonimity in intellectual creation, a right not provided for in our legislation.
5. M.I. Premia, "Persoana fizica in dreptul R.P.R." [The Physical Person in R.P.R. Law] Academy Edition, Bucharest, 1964, p. 136.
6. See H.L. and J. Mazeaud, "Lecons de droit civil." [Lessons in Civil Law] t.I, vol. 2, Paris, 1972, p. 580.
7. For this purpose see A. Colin, H. Capitant, "Curs elementar de drept civil francez," [Elementary Course in French Civil Law] (translation), Bucharest, 1940, p. 457.
8. See C. Statescu "Drept civil" [Civil Law] didactical and pedagogical Edition, Bucharest, 1970, p. 145.
9. For the same purpose see H.L. and J. Mazeaud, op. cit., p. 569
10. Art. 476 of the RSFSR Civil Code emphasizes the moment a work is considered as brought in front of the public, assigning thus indirectly the right over a pseudonym.
11. See for this purpose also Tr. Ionascu "Numele si domiciliul persoanei fizice in lumina recente legislatii a R.P.R." [Name and residence of physical person in light of present legislation in R.P.R.] in "University Annals," C.I. Parhon, social sciences, legal sciences section, Bucharest, 1956, p. 219.

YUGOSLAVIA

INTERVIEW WITH DISSIDENT MIHAJLO MIHAJLOV

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 7 Jul 78 p 40

[Interview with the Yugoslav dissident Mihajlo Mihajlov by Fritz J. Raddatz: "A vacation Land With Solitary Confinement--Yugoslavia Is as Unfree as Any Other Country of the Socialist Camp"]

[Text] The 43-year-old Yugoslav writer Mihajlo Mihailov is considered one of the outstanding spokesmen of the Yugoslav dissident movement. After the publication of his memoir of a study trip to the Soviet Union ("Moscow Summer of 1964") he was arrested in 1965 following an intervention by the Soviet Embassy with Tito. In his trial, his conviction was based on 24 lines from "Moscow Summer" in which mention is made of the fact that Soviet concentration camps were established before those in Germany. Apparently under the impact of public protests, the verdict was a mild one, however: a suspended sentence of 5 months' imprisonment. Mihajlov's attempt to found his own independent journal was punished by his being arrested again and a 1-year prison sentence. Because of "antistate publications" in the Western press, he was arrested again in 1974 and sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment in 1975. Pitiless conditions of imprisonment--a freezing cell without a bed, a ban on reading--caused him several times to go on hunger strikes. In 1977 he was near death, and only alarming reports in West European and U.S. newspapers were able to lead to his being put in a hospital and finally being amnestied in November 1977. On the occasion of his first trip to the West (among other things, for lectures in the United States) Mihajlo Mihajlov gave DIE ZEIT an interview--the only such interview to be given to a Western paper.

F. J. R.: I would like you to first describe your experience during your imprisonment in Yugoslavia. In Western Europe, Yugoslavia is generally considered a milder, more democratic communist country among the states of the Eastern bloc.

Mihajlo Mihajlov: In a certain sense Yugoslavia differs from the Eastern bloc, but not as far as prisons are concerned. For example, it does not recognize the status of a political prisoner. It treats all prisoners like criminals.

F. J. R.: How many political prisoners are there?

Mihajlov: No one knows. Between 600 and 1,000. No one knows exactly.

F. J. R.: What are the prison conditions? In your case apparently they were especially hard?

Mihajlov: As far as I personally am concerned, the behavior was generally correct. Nobody beat me. But the Stara Gradiska prison in Croatia is terrible. It is the very model of a concentration camp. The political prisoners have to do the heaviest physical labor. It is terrible.

F. J. R.: Were you imprisoned there?

Mihajlov: No. But despite a hunger strike, in our institution our basic demand was not met, namely, that all political prisoners be gathered in one place. In the beginning, everyone was separately in solitary confinement, which is not even permitted under Yugoslav law in the long run.

F. J. R.: You consider yourself a "political prisoner," a dissident. What political persuasion do you consider yourself part of? A dissident from what?

Mihajlov: You know, when people attack me, they simply say that I am an anarchist liberal, which makes no sense at all. Besides, I do not regard myself at all as a political personality, on the contrary I was always arrested on the basis of what I had written.

F. J. R.: But what you wrote was political material.

Mihajlov: Are you the interviewer automatically a politician because you write a commentary about something?

F. J. R.: I do not want to make you a politician. But you are neither a novelist nor a poet.

Mihajlov: I am a writer interested in political affairs.

F. J. R.: All right; and what is your position, say, within or outside Marxism? I was taken aback to come across a demand for socialism in some of your writings.

Mihajlov: If it is really absolutely necessary for me to be classified, I would have to say that I am a Christian socialist. In Eastern Europe, under the conditions prevailing there, one cannot be anything but a socialist. There are no other possibilities available. But if there were to be a broader definition, I would say for a start that I am a democratic socialist.

F. J. R.: Excuse my being stubborn, but you occasionally cite Kolakowski in your writings; yet Kolakowski completely rejects the term "democratic socialism" as a contradiction in terms.

Mihajlov: Perhaps insofar as it has not yet come to prevail anywhere, has not anywhere become a reality which can be checked. I would regard the replacement of the one-party system by pluralism as a "sign of identification."

F. J. R.: That means a non-Marxist socialism? Is there such a thing?

Mihajlov: I believe the following to be the most exact definition of socialism: An economic constitutional system in which private ownership of the means of production has been either abolished or significantly restricted. This definition of socialism describes its irreconcilability not only with the power of capitalist monopolies, combines and cartels but with the power of party bureaucracy, which in effect has monopoly possession of all means of production. In a capitalist society political democracy does not entail economic democracy, and the power of the owners of the means of production is not canceled by the mere fact of political democracy. Nevertheless, in opening a peaceful way to democratic socialism, democracy is of great significance. Of course this will not take place entirely without friction, and indeed there are jolts before any new step is taken in the direction of socialism in the more progressive capitalist countries.

F. J. R.: The Prague model, in other words? But that still had a Marxist stamp.

Mihajlov: Of course. Dubcek could not say otherwise. Yet there is no question but that the trend would have moved on toward democratic pluralism. One can see that, can't one, if one looks at that "simply awful" effect of Eurocommunism on all Europe, both East and West, but also on Belgrade.

F. J. R.: Both East and West? How would you define the effect of Eurocommunism on the West?

Mihajlov: The leftist forces in the West which are demanding extensive socialist reforms will not desist from their demands even when it becomes apparent that the reforms they are striving for will entail a reduction of economic growth. They are fighting primarily for freedom; the fact that neither in the West nor in the East are people aware of this, merely means that the democratic forces have not yet understood the true aim of their struggle. And this is also why there are constant misunderstandings between the leftist forces in the West and the opponents of communist dictatorship in the East. At the same time it is possible to observe a strange contradiction, which incidentally is bound to be painful to someone who, for example, is forced to perceive it through the bars of a "socialist prison": large vociferous and militant groups of young people in the West are developing an inclination toward totalitarian thinking, while their "comrades" in the East, at the risk of life and limb are demanding the very things which these people condemn as bourgeois and passe but at the same time use and even abuse--freedom of opinion, of the press, an independent judiciary. These "old bourgeois" freedoms, however, cannot be realized within the existing socialist states or socialist states resembling them, a one-party system invariably being a system of lack of rights [Unrechtssystem--a coined word combining two meanings: a lack of rule of law and a system of injustice.]

F. J. R.: With this concept you are drawing a quite basic line between yourself and, for example, the "Praxis" group, for the philosophers of that Yugoslav "school" believe that they can achieve greater liberality within a further-developed Marxism. That is precisely what you do not consider possible; instead you are casting Marxism overboard and only then regard a development toward pluralism or liberalism as possible.

Mihajlov: I definitely draw a line between myself and the "Praxis" group. But there is also a big trend in that group precisely in the direction of pluralism.

F. J. R.: But one could not find in the writings of any of them sentences such as you have written--for example: Stalin was no historical accident; the germ of Stalin was in Lenin, just as the germ of Lenin had been in Marx.

Mihajlov: Those in Belgrade already think so too. Only, this is hardly known, their journal having been banned for 3 years. But let me draw your attention to yet another phenomenon which is being heeded much too little--a new religious attitude, an almost emphatic turning away from the idea of historical determinism. Religion--including religion not tied to a church--is playing a quite substantial role in Yugoslavia (as, incidentally, in all Eastern-bloc states, including the Soviet Union), also among young people. It is the rediscovery of the individual, the belief in his independence. This engenders a strange mixture of

equanimity and hope; if the individual is indestructible, he is also more likely to be proof against stupid chicanery of officials or ridiculous laws. The firm conviction of many Samizdat authors that it is not society which stamps and supports the individual but the other way round, can lend one courage. To discover that the theory that consciousness is stamped by social existence is a lie--that amounts to a big inner freedom. The historical experience that, for instance, the persecutors of yesterday very often are the persecuted of today--take the Stalin trials--has led to an almost extreme intellectual and moral conclusion: there are no "innocent victims"; slavery is no "misfortune" but a fate deserved, even a sin. Just go ahead and imprison someone who has that conviction and lives by it. You will have a hard time getting to him....

F. J. R.: Can one say that it is this which distinguishes Yugoslavia from the other Eastern bloc countries?

Mihajlov: Yes and no. As regards human rights, there are three important differences. Anyone may leave Yugoslavia except for those whom the police do not want to let go. There are comparatively few--5,000 to 6,000--who are not given passports, while in the Soviet Union presumably only about that many are allowed to go. In Yugoslavia, one can buy all kinds of foreign newspapers--except anything published that deals with Yugoslavia. An enormous amount of religious literature is printed in Yugoslavia. One cannot buy it anywhere, but one can get it in church. Those are three big differences. But in trials, in the judiciary, it is the same thing everywhere.

F. J. R.: And how about freedom of opinion?

Mihajlov: Of course there is no freedom of opinion in Yugoslavia. If you read the Yugoslav press, you will notice that the entire press in fact consists only of preventing dissidents from somehow making their deviating opinions public. Milovan Djilas even believes that there is more freedom of opinion in Poland or in Hungary, for example. There is no freedom of the press.

F. J. R.: And what about you? Can you publish at all?

Mihajlov: There is even a court ban against my publishing anything. Huge numbers of people do not have any opportunity to make public what they are thinking. But if you go to a coffeehouse or restaurant, there are things talked about there--if you hear them, you get the impression that there really is freedom of opinion. That is probably the reason why from time to time someone is given such a harsh sentence in order to intimidate the rest.

F. J. R.: Is any literature issued which deals critically with Marxism?

Mihajlov: Marxism may be criticized, but not by Yugoslavs--only in translations.

F. J. R.: The famous book by the Jesuit Gustav Wetter about historical materialism has been published then?

Mihajlov: I read excerpts in Catholic, in Christian publications, excerpts and notices of publication. I do not know whether it has actually been published.

F. J. R.: Does there exist, for example, what is called the Nouvelle Philosophie in France--that sort of profound criticism of Marxism?

Mihajlov: No.

F. J. R.: All that you have said about Yugoslavia means in the last analysis that we have some greatly mistaken notions, that in fact, when it comes down to it, the Tito regime does not differ from any of the other totalitarian Eastern-bloc states.

Mihajlov: Each and every system at bottom is Stalinist. There are only differences of degree. If you measure it on a scale from pluralism to a one-party system, Yugoslavia is of course closer to pluralism than, say, Bulgaria is.

F. J. R.: Though you yourself--or Djilas--have said that there actually is probably more freedom of opinion, and therefore more liberality, in Hungary and Poland.

Mihajlov: Yes, Djilas said so. Do you know the new book by Edvard Kardelj, "Self-Administering Pluralism"? The basic idea of that book is that Yugoslavia is not a one-party system at all but a pluralist self-administration system. That is not true, of course. He maintains in the same context that pluralism contributes to alienation, which I consider pure nonsense.

F. J. R.: Let me ask a different question. Why do you go back to a country if you know that in the foreseeable future there will be no freedom there and that you really cannot exist there as a writer?

Mihajlov: I am as deeply convinced as I can be that Yugoslavia will change. For 20 years Yugoslavs have traveled abroad, have read all kinds of things. Yugoslavia can remain independent from the Soviet Union only if it professes this freedom.

F. J. R.: After your return from the United States, from your first trip to the West altogether, you will be going back as if to a big prison, or perhaps also to a small one....

Mihajlov: For 13 years I have been published only in the West anyway. But all my friends are there--in Zagreb, Belgrade, everywhere. I will continue to write from there, and presumably I will continue to be published only in the West. I am not afraid that I will be arrested now; rather I think that perhaps they will only frighten me. Pressure is put on me in material things. For instance, I was deprived of the right of residence. In Yugoslavia, depriving someone of the right of residence is like hitting him with an ax; it ruins him. In the West that may not be so easy to understand, but that is the way it is. I have no place for my books; I believe they are in the attic of a friend.

F. J. R.: Away back in 1966 you were asked whether you did not feel a little like a Don Quixote, and at that time you said in effect: Nothing will happen to me; I don't think so. That was a big delusion....

Mihajlov: Strictly speaking, it does not really pay at all to convict me. I have already had a 7-year sentence, and they released me again after 3 years. It just does not pay politically speaking. My fundamental problem is spiritual revolution. That may be a discredited term, but my problem is spiritual development, and that is not a political problem.

F. J. R.: Permit me a final speculative questions: What will happen after Tito dies?

Mihajlov: There is a joke about a Yugoslav and a Romanian border guard. The Romanian asks the Yugoslav soldier: What will you do if Tito dies now? And the Yugoslav replies: What will you do if Ceausescu continues to live?

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YUGOSLAVIA

SWEDEN'S FORMER SECURITY POLICE CHIEF DENIES HE AIDED IN ENVOY'S MURDER

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[Text] The murder of the Yugoslav ambassador Rolovic in April 1971 was carried out with assistance from the Swedish security police, Sapo. This is what one of the men who was involved in the action maintains in an article in the Yugoslav journal NIN.

The former Sapo chief Hans Holmer denies the accusations as "pure fantasies."

The article is based on a secret tape recording with Stephan Mikulic. He is no longer alive. He was murdered in December 1975 in Falkenberg. That murder is still unsolved.

Mikulic was a member of the Croatian freedom movement and spokesman for its central committee in Europe. In the tape recording he claims that a leader for the Ustashi's activity, a 40-year-old Croatian named Blaz, had good contacts with the Swedish security police.

Blaz fled Yugoslavia to Austria a good 20 years ago and has since been active in Ustashi in West Germany, later Australia.

Occupations

It was on Blaz' order that the occupation of Yugoslavia's consulate in Goteborg was started on 10 February 1971. The occupants gave up after a day on orders from Blaz, since he supposedly had found out from his Swedish security police contacts that neither the consul nor any other important person was among the hostages. Blaz then left Sweden.

After some time he returned and explained that a new larger action had to be carried out. It involved seizing Ambassador Rolovic and the entire personnel in the embassy in Stockholm and demand that nine persons imprisoned in Yugoslavia be freed.

Swedish Security Police Contact

Stephan Mikulic protested against the plans and explained that more than three persons were required to handle the action. However, Blaz then objected that there was no need to worry about the police. The security police had namely said that they would not step in since the action was to take place in the embassy, which was foreign territory.

After the murder in the embassy, Blaz ordered a new big action at the time of the court case against the men accused of the murder. However, he suddenly interrupted all preparations. He is reported to have said that his contact man in the security police explained that it would not help to do anything, and that it would be best for Blaz to disappear from the country.

In the summer of 1972 Blaz returned to Sweden. He then reported that his influential friends had said that the time was ripe for new action. They would get the greatest propaganda effect by freeing the terrorists from Kumla prison.

Mass Escape

The result was a well-planned mass escape from Kumla during the night of 18 August of the same year, and 15 inmates escaped--including the two caught for the murder of the ambassador. Both of these were caught a couple of days later outside Mariestad.

The former security police chief Hans Holmer refers to the contents of the article as "free fantasies."

"I can't even remember having heard the name Blaz. And in my opinion it is impossible that this man can have had any contact with anybody in the security police," says Hans Holmer. However, Assistant Chief of the security police Sture Hoglund does not deny the information just as categorically.

"That somebody inside the security police should have given a member of a Croatian separatist organization tactical hints before planned actions appears completely incredible, but of course, it is not completely impossible.

"The security police always have certain contacts with various exile groups in Sweden, but this is to prevent terrorism of various types. If, in spite of everything, it should be true what Mikulic says, the contact in the security police has acted completely in his own interests," says Sture Hoglund.

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